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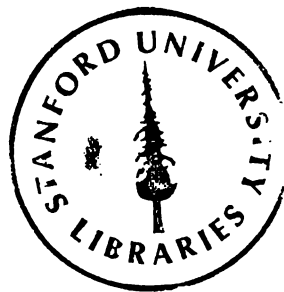
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THE RÔLE OF THE MATEIPOI IN THE LIFE OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS

AS DEPICTED IN GREEK LITERATURE
AND INSCRIPTIONS

BY

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With kind regards
E. M. R.

PREFATORY NOTE

The main subject-matter of this book was originally used in a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Philology at Harvard University. Since that time, however, the work has undergone a careful revision, although my conclusions are essentially the same as in the original thesis.

E. M. R.

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INTRODUCTION

In a careful examination of the fragments preserved from the writings of the Greek comic poets, one must of necessity be impressed with the rôle which cooks in general played in Greek Comedy. In my own study of these comic fragments the material collated on this subject was such as to induce the belief that cooks were an important factor in the life of the ancient Greeks, both private and public, and therefore worthy of more extensive investigation and more careful consideration than had been accorded them. Hence I was led to investigate, as far as possible, all Greek literature, and the inscriptions as well, in the hope that a contribution of some value might be made to the study of Greek life on a subject which was apparently of such real importance.

One need not go beyond a careful reading of Athenaeus to be convinced of the significant part which cooks played in the life of the Greeks from the middle of the fifth century before our era, or even earlier, down to the third century at least after the birth of Christ. Because of the form which Athenaeus gave to his work, under the title of *Deipnosophistae*, and the subjects therein discussed, the characters at the fictitious feast of Larensis¹ are represented as discoursing upon a variety of subjects concerned with feasting and everything pertaining to matters connected with the preparation of banquets and the like. Particularly is it true that the cook is introduced as quoting authors who have portrayed those of his own vocation in the Greek Comedy. To this fact, indeed, we owe the preservation of a very large number of the comic fragments. The rôle

¹ Cf. Wilh. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³, p. 735 and n. 2.

taken by cooks may be judged somewhat from the fact that at least two plays are known to have been composed by Nicostratus and Anaxilas which bore the titles of *Μάγειρος* and *Μάγειροι* respectively, while Menander wrote a play called *Δημιουργός*.¹ In no less than thirty-three fragments,² moreover, Athenaeus indicates that a cook is speaking, and elsewhere the voice of the *μάγειρος* is often recognizable. As Comedy is a mirror of the life of the times when composed, however extravagant may be its form, we see herein very much that is of genuine worth in the study of such a question as that which I propose to discuss. In fact, we may safely say that no other single figure is everywhere in evidence quite so much on the comic stage, particularly of the Middle and the New Comedy, as the cook in his various humors and numerous and important functions.

But not only do the writings of the comic poets point to the significance of the cook in Greece, but Athenaeus also either gives the names of writers on the art of cookery and related arts, or else quotes from similar authors with such frequency that no doubt can be left in our minds as to the ever-increasing significance of the art with the passing of the centuries. And, again, the cooks are here made to quote the chief authorities on their own specialties in a way that indicates the importance of their art as known to Athenaeus from the life of his own times, and from a study of previous customs and conditions. Such books would be written only when there was a positive demand for them. Hence no sufficient reason is apparent for the seeming

¹ All passages quoted from the fragments of Greek Comedy (excepting Aristophanes) will be referred, by volume and page, to the works of August Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum* (ed. a. 1839, 1840, 1841, 1857), and Theodor Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (ed. a. 1880, 1884, 1888). Compare for the passages here cited, M. III, 284, 346; IV, 103; K. II, 224, 269; III, 33.

² Cf. M. III, 235, 298, 416, 429, 439, 442, 451, 462, 464, 465, 470, 471, 547 (*bis*), 551, 585; IV, 26, 68, 153, 381, 394, 435, 436, 459, 479, 482, 486, 492, 494, 521, 530, 557, 583; K. II, 184, 234, 323, 335, 341, 344, 351, 360, 361, 362, 366, 367, 423 (*bis*), 425, 447, 500, 540; III, 82; II, 545, 553; III, 276, 277, 296, 312, 314, 317, 322, 323, 342, 349, 369, 386.

would seem.¹ Dorotheus appears to have written on a special dish, *ματτίη*,² much spoken of in the New Comedy. Many others might be added to this list from other writers quoted by Athenaeus or mentioned by various authors. Indeed, such writings became so frequent, and their necessary effects were so strongly felt, that writers like Plutarch (particularly in his *Quaestiones convivales*) saw fit to advise against such extravagant and luxurious tastes as would be aroused by books of this character. Their main theme is that voiced by Musonius (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* xvii, 42, Wachsmuth-Hense):

Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προεληλύθαμεν λιχνείας καὶ ὀψοφαγίας, ὥστε καθάπερ μουσικὰ καὶ ἰατρικὰ οὕτω καὶ μαγειρικὰ πεποιήνται τινες συγγράμματα, ἃ τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν καὶ πάνυ αὔξει τὴν ἐν τῷ φάρνυγι, τὴν δ' ὑγίειαν διαφθείρει.

Although no one of these books has been preserved entire, the quotations from them are sufficient to show that the influences from abroad were very powerful in increasing the growth of the art of cookery among the Greeks. Through conflicts and intercourse with oriental nations, in particular, many new and unheard-of customs were introduced into Greece. The establishment of colonies in other lands shows its influence here as well as in other departments of Greek life and thought. Hence many names of dishes mentioned by Athenaeus come from Lydia, Sicily, and elsewhere, and the preparation of these same dishes has been learned from foreign cooks. But surer evidence of external influences is found in frequent references, especially in Comedy, to cooks themselves from other countries, as will appear in the main discussion of this subject.³

Passages in the Old Greek Comedy before the time of Aristophanes⁴ show that the art of the skilled cook was

¹ Cf. Athen. xiv, 647c, 648a.

² Cf. *ibid.* 662f.

³ Cf. pp. 13-17 and pp. 40, 41.

⁴ Cf. Pherecrates in Athen. vi, 268e (M. II, 299; K. I, 174).

already an important factor in the life of the times. Indeed, it is not to be doubted, as allusions in the fragments preserved to us indicate, that already in the plays of Epicharmus and other earlier comic writers questions pertaining to cookery were not unknown. By the time of Aristophanes this great poet was ready to ridicule the important place which such things were allowed in preceding writers.¹ Yet even he cannot refrain from presenting to his audiences some cooking scenes of rare interest,² so varied and important were the functions of the cooks of his time, and such was the popular demand, because of the popular taste, for such spectacles. But in the Middle and New Comedy the cook was a still more familiar figure upon the boards. From this period the increase in luxurious habits of living and eating among certain peoples of Greece was allied with corresponding extravagance in matters relating to cookery. These customs must have had special weight from the period of Alexander the Great to the time when Athenaeus wrote his *Deipnosophists*. And after an investigation of Greek literature we find that Athenaeus is our chief authority on this large subject, first of all by reason of the style of the book he composed, and again because of the innumerable writers mentioned or quoted in his work.

In a coherent and full discussion of a subject of this kind there are very many difficulties in the way of progress, so many varieties of forms does it assume. To sum these up briefly: The kind of cook required to prepare the food varied for different occasions, and sometimes more than one kind were necessary for the same occasion. Again, the same title might signify the same person, but with a different function to perform, under different circumstances. And, lastly, with the lapse of years it was not impossible for the title of a certain kind of cook to carry with it an

¹ Cf. Arist., *Pax*, 739 ff.

² Cf. pp. 52 f.

entirely new signification. The lack of any complete discussion of the subject may possibly be due, in part at least, to these very reasons.

Among the passages in modern works that I have found on this subject, the article by E. Potter in the *Dictionnaire des antiquités, grecques et romaines*, of Daremberg and Saglio (s. v. "Coquus ou Cocus") seems to be the most comprehensive. Yet this makes no pretensions to an exhaustive treatment of the subject, and some conclusions in this article are liable to change upon a more thorough study of all the evidence afforded in literature.¹ Many references to various aspects of the question are found scattered through the valuable *Lehrbuch* of Hermann.² In Hugo Blümner's separate work³ there are also statements regarding the province of those designated by certain words. Certain phases of the cook's life are discussed by Bekker in his *Charikles*.⁴ Mahaffy has, moreover, presented parts of the subject in popular form in his interesting book, *Social Life in Greece*.⁵ Wherever I have found the subject treated by other modern writers, I shall endeavor to give honor to whom honor is due. The books mentioned above contain the fullest general discussions I have been able to discover.

A word is here in order regarding the method which I shall use in the presentation of the subject. The word μάγειρος designated and included those cooks who were supreme in their art at the time when the most evidence is available concerning their profession. The discussion of these persons will therefore serve as the fundamental part of this work. And, furthermore, since this word μάγειρος has not

¹ Cf. pp. 29 ff.

² Cf. K. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalterthümer*³ (red. ab Hugo Blümner, 1882), pp. 218, 223, 227, 228, etc.

³ Cf. Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (Leipzig, 1875), I, pp. 82-84.

⁴ Cf. W. A. Bekker, *Charikles* (red. ab Herm. Goll, 1878), II, pp. 206, 318, etc.

⁵ Cf. J. P. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, pp. 281 ff.

the same signification at all times, as will be shown below, it has appeared most suitable to use the Greek word throughout this discussion. The relations of the *μάγειροι* to cooks indicated by other words will therefore be mentioned only in a general way. But at some future time it is my purpose to publish as a second part to this discussion the results of my study of material concerning the other various kinds of cooks. In this way it is hoped there will remain no doubt in the minds of those who read this dissertation as to the correctness of the conclusions drawn from the vast amount of material afforded by Greek writers regarding the status, the distinctions, the functions, the characteristics of these *μάγειροι* who delighted the hearts and pleased the palates of so large a number of the ancient Greeks.

PRINCETON, N. J.
January, 1905

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CHAPTER I

DERIVATION OF THE WORD ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΟΣ

As regards the derivation of the word *μάγειρος*, the ancient lexicographers refer it to the root *μαγ* which is found in *μάσσω* (or *μάττω*), "to knead." And so Herodianus (i. 193. ll. 9. 10. Lentz) explains the word: *Μάγειρος παρὰ τὸ μάσσω ὃ τὰς μάζας φερῶν*;¹ while Eustathius says (ell. in *Odys.*, p. 1761. ll. 34 ff.): *Ἐφη δὲ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μαγὶς ἀπὸ τῆς μάζης ἣ τοῦ μαστεύειν ῥηθεῖσα παράγει τὸν μάγειρον δι' οὗτω, φησί, λέγεται παρὰ τὸ μαγίδας αἶρεν ἥγουν προσφέρειν*. Suidas and the *Etymologicum magnum* follow Herodianus in his explanation of the etymology of the word.² Slightly varying in their tenor are the remarks of other writers on etymology when treating of this word, but they are generally agreed in referring it to the same root as occurs in the verb *μάσσω*.³

Hence the primal signification of the word was associated with the making of bread. But other words were afterward used for "bakers,"⁴ and the word *μάγειρος* came to have a very specific meaning.⁵ And this view agrees with the statement of Paulus⁶ (in Festus, p. 58, 14 M.): "*Cocum et pistorem apud antiquos eundem fuisse accepimus.*"

¹ Cf. Arist., *Eq.* 55, "μάζαν μεμαχότος."

² Suid. and *Etym. mag.*, s. v. Cf. also Herodian. ll. 412, l. 14, Lentz: *Μάγειρον παρὰ τὸ μάσσω ἥγουν ὃ τὰς μάζας μερίζων*, from *Etym. Orion*, 100, 4.

³ Cf. *Etym. Gudian.*, s. v.; Schaefer on Gregor. Cor., pp. 280 and 600.

⁴ Such words as *ἀροκόπος*, *ἀρονοῖός*, *σιρονοῖός*. It is my intention at some future time to publish the results of my investigation concerning the use and application of these words.

⁵ Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, s. v. "Coquus," and Hugo Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste bei Gr. u. Röm.* (Leipzig, 1875), I, 82 ff.

⁶ Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xviii, 108: "*Certumque sit Atel Capitonis sententia, cocum tum panem lautioribus coquere solitos pistoremque tantum eum qui far plumbant nominatos; nec cocos vero habebant in servitilis coquus ex masello conducunt.*"

Before the time of Euripides and Aristophanes, therefore, the word *μάγιστος* had received another meaning, which was quite distinct from its root signification and primitive use. It was henceforth familiarly employed in its new sense.¹ And inasmuch as we are not familiar with the word as used in its original signification, it is only with the later meaning that we are now concerned.

¹ Cf. Eur., *Cycl.* 396-406, and see p. 56; also Arist., *Acharn.* 1015, *Pax* 1017, etc.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL STATUS OF THE ΜΑΓΕΙΠΟΙ

I. AS DEPICTED IN HOMER

In Homeric times the habits of life were simple. The food was coarse and consisted mainly of roasted meats (for the most part cattle), of which large quantities were prepared for particular occasions. Nor was there any distinction made in the fare for different persons, as Athenaeus (i, 8f-9a) observes:

Ἀπλὴν οὖν ἀποδέδωκε τὴν διαίταν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοίως βασι-
λεῦσιν ιδιώταις, νέοις πρεσβύταις, <λέγων·

παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν,

σῆτον δ' αἰδοίῃ ταμὴ παρέθηκε φέρονσα.

δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν αἰείρας,

καὶ τούτων ὀπτῶν καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ βοείων· παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὔτε ἐν
ἑορταῖς οὔτ' ἐν γάμοις οὔτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ συνόδῳ παρατίθῃσιν οὐδέν, καίτοι
πολλάκις τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιήσας δειπνίζοντα τοὺς ἀρίστους>.¹

And so even at the feast of the suitors, as Athenaeus (i, 9 b, c) again notes, the food is simple and plain. Yet there seems to have been a kind of sacredness attaching to the feasts in general in the Homeric period because of the sacrifices which preceded them. Hence the heroes of those days participated² in the preparations for the feasts. The king

¹ Cf. Suidas, *Lexicon*, s. v. Ὀμηρος (II, p. 1099 Bernh.), and see E. Hiller, *Rh. Mus.* XL (1885), pp. 204 ff.

² Cf. *Odys.* iii, 32 f.:

Ἐνθ' ἄρα Νέστωρ ἦστο σὺν νιάσιν, ἄμφι δ' ἑταῖροι
δαῖτ' ἐντυνόμενοι κρέα τ' ὤπτων ἄλλα τ' ἔπειρον;

also *Odys.* xv, 321 ff., where Odysseus boasts:

Δρηστοσύνη οὐκ ἂν μοι ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος,
πῦρ τ' εἴ νῆῃσαι διὰ τε ξύλα δανά κεάσσαι,
δαιτρεῦσαι τε καὶ ὀπτήσαι καὶ οἰνοχοῆσαι,
οἷά τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρῶσι χέρηες.

And see *Ath.* i, 18 a, b.

himself might slay the victim and perform the sacrifice, as does Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (iii, 292 ff.):¹

Ἦ καὶ ἀπὸ στομάχους ἀνῶν τάμε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ·
καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἀσπαίροντας,
θυμοῦ δενομένους· ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἴλετο χαλκός.

From such passages as these Athenaeus concludes (xiv, 660c): Οὕτως ἐνδοξον ἦν καὶ μέγιστον τὸ τῆς μαγειρικῆς τέχνης ἀξίωμα. But in reality, strictly speaking, there was no μαγειρικὴ τέχνη in the Homeric period, nor did the simple customs of the times demand the services of the skilled professional cook who later appeared prominently in Greek life. The members of the household, whether free born or slaves, at that time performed the simple duties of the home and did not consider such labors as at all disgraceful. There were, of course, slaves belonging to the household, but no one whose special province was the culinary department.² The one who approached most nearly the μάγειρος of later times, therefore, was the δαιτρός, but even this person can hardly be compared with the skilled μάγειρος in his functions.³ In brief, his duty was to dispense the meats to the feasters after having cut them into smaller pieces.

The word μάγειρος, then, does not occur in Homer, nor do any derivatives from the same root, so far as I have been able to ascertain. What is particularly to be noted, however, is that cooking was not then looked upon as a peculiarly servile act.

II. AS DEPICTED IN GREEK COMEDY

As has already been observed, the art of the μάγειρος was well advanced at the time of the Old Comedy, and this

¹ Cf. *Odys.* iii, 442 f.:

Πίλεκεν δὲ Μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης
ὁξὺν ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παρίστατο βοῦν ἐπικόψων.

² Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xviii, 108, for a statement of a similar state of affairs among the early Romans.

³ The material which I have collated on the δαιτρός will be used in a subsequent article.

was the term used to designate the skilled professional cook.¹ This fact will be made clear in the further presentation of the subject, especially in the discussion of the times and occasions at which μάγειροι were employed in their professional capacity.² To the mind of one who has studied the characters portrayed in Greek Comedy, particularly in the fragments of the Middle and New Comedy, there should be no doubt as to the very important rôle which μάγειροι as a class played in the life of the times. It must be constantly borne in mind, however, that we are not now considering the condition of the domestic slaves who performed the ordinary duties of the household and aided in the usual daily cooking done at home. The μάγειρος of this and succeeding times was quite another character, as will appear in the course of this discussion.

The attempt is here made to depict briefly the place of the μάγειροι on the comic stage more as a means to establishing their social status at the time than with the intention of characterizing them thoroughly, though the characteristics of the cook in general are largely determined from the study of the comic fragments, and these will be discussed more at length in a later chapter.³ First of all, then, our attention is directed to

(α) *The masks of the μάγειροι in Greek Comedy.*—Here our most fruitful source on the character of the μάγειρος in Comedy, outside of the Comedy itself, is a passage in Athenaeus (xiv, 659a):

Ἐκάλον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν μὲν πολιτικὸν μάγειρον Μαΐσωνα, τὸν δ' ἐκτόπιον Τέττιγα. Χρύσιππος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν Μαΐσωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ μασᾶσθαι οἶεται κεκληῆσθαι, οἷον τὸν ἀμαθῆ καὶ πρὸς γαστέρα νενευκότα, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Μαΐσων γέγονεν κωμωδίας ὑποκριτῆς Μεγαρεὺς τὸ γένος, ὃς καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον εὔρε τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον Μαΐσωνα, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τῇ περὶ Προσώπων, εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν φάσκων καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεράποντος πρόσωπον

¹ Cf. pp. 4 and 6.

² Cf. pp. 48 ff.

³ See pp. 73 ff.

καὶ τὸ τοῦ μαγείρου. καὶ εἰκότως καὶ τὰ τούτοις πρέποντα σκώμματα καλεῖται μαισωνικά.

The passages found in Hesychius and Eustathius are clearly based on the statement of Athenaeus.¹ But Pollux (*Onom.* iv, 148–50) also tells us—doubtless using the information gained from the great work of Aristophanes of Byzantium, *Περὶ Προσώπων*, quoted above by Athenaeus, as Zieliński points out²—that there were two different masks for the μάγειροι in the New Comedy:

Τὰ δὲ δούλων πρόσωπα κωμικὰ πάππος, ἡγεμὼν θεραπέων, κάτω τριχίας ἢ κάτω τετριχωμένος, θεραπέων οὖλος, θεραπέων Μαίσων,³ θεραπέων Τέττιξ, ἡγεμὼν ἐπίσειστος. ὁ μὲν πάππος μόνος τῶν θεραπόντων πολὺς ἐστὶ, καὶ δημοῖ ἀπελειθέρον. . . . ὁ δὲ Μαίσων³ θεραπέων φαλακρὸς πυρρὸς ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ θεραπέων Τέττιξ φαλακρὸς μέλας, δύο ἢ τρία βοστρύχια μέλανα ἐπικέκμενος, καὶ ὁμοία ἐν τῷ γενέει, διάστροφος τὴν ὄψιν.

From these passages it is seen that the characters of the native μάγειρος and the foreign μάγειρος were clearly distinguished on the comic stage, even as late as the New Attic Comedy, by certain masks which bore the names of Μαίσων and Τέττιξ, respectively. Moreover, according to Aristophanes of Byzantium, the mask of the native μάγειρος was so named from its inventor, the Megarian actor Maeson.⁴ Athenaeus further tells us (xiv. 659c) that Polemon said Maeson was from the Sicilian (Hyblaea) Megara. His words are these: Τὸν δὲ Μαίσωνα Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Τίμαιον ἐκ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ φησὶν εἶναι Μεγάρων καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν Νισαίων.

¹ Cf. Hesych., *Lex.*, s. vv. Μαίσων and Τέττιξ; Eustath. on Hom. *Odyss.* (xiv, 78), p. 1751, 53 ff. Compare also F. G. Schneidewin in *Conj. Crit.*, p. 122, on Hesychius, s. v. Μούσωνες.

² Cf. Th. Zieliński, *Quaest. com.*, pp. 63–66.

³ Bekker's correction of the MS reading, adopted by E. Bethe in his edition of 1900.

⁴ Schneidewin (*loc. cit. supra*) would make Maeson a poet also; but this does not so much concern us in this connection. Compare also Meineke, *Frcta. com. Graec.* I, pp. 22 ff. It may be further noted that Wilamowitz (in *Hermes* IX, 339 f.) objects to Schneidewin's "plattattributionistische Methode." The other derivation of this name, Maeson (from the verb *μασάσθαι*), is hardly to be accepted. But compare Zieliński, *loc. cit.*

Zielinski (*loc. cit.*) thinks this Maeson was a comic character well known both to Nisaeen Megara and to Hyblaeen Megara. But while this is doubtless true as regards the character in Comedy, the view of Schneidewin (in *Conj. crit.*, pp. 120–29) that the actor Maeson was from Nisaeen Megara is, to my mind, more to be commended. I cannot agree with Zielinski, however, when he assumes that the comic character Maeson appeared in different rôles. There is no evidence in either Athenaeus or Pollux to this effect, but the masks of the *μάγειροι* and *θεράποντες* alone are mentioned in this connection. Zielinski makes this assumption, too, despite the fact that he rightly, as I think, rejects (with A. Nauck¹) the statement of Festus in a passage which has doubtless become corrupted in the course of the changes which this work has undergone. From this character of the Maeson, then, arose the *σκόμματα μαισωνικά* that were afterward familiar in the plays of the comic poets at Athens.

The name *Τέττιξ* given to the mask of the foreign *μάγειρος* is not so easy of explanation. Indeed, scholars have thus far failed to give a satisfactory reason for the use of this word in this relation. It seems to be well established that the origin of the character Maeson was in the Dorian Comedy.² Then are we to suppose, with Zielinski³ and others, that the character of the *Τέττιξ* did not exist alongside of that of the *Μαίσων*? The mask called *Μαίσων* represented the domestic *μάγειρος*. But why should this type of *μάγειρος* be specially

¹ Cf. A. Nauck, *Arist. Byz. fragm.*, pp. 276, 277, where the passage from Festus is cited. The latter originally must have contained the quotation from Aristophanes of Byzantium himself. O. Ribbeck (in *Alazon*, p. 26) holds to the opposite view of the Festus passage, which he apparently accepts in its entirety. See Zielinski, *Quaest. com.*, p. 64, n. 1.

² It is beyond the province of this discussion to dwell upon the meaning of the expression, "Dorian Comedy." The mask was Dorian and comic, however, in that it was the invention of the Megarian comic actor, Maeson.

³ Cf. *Quaest. com.*, p. 66: "Doricae tamen comoediae personam fuisse Tettigem non crediderim; etymologiam frustra odieris, veterum autem testimonia de Attico omnia loquuntur Tettige. Iam cum Atheniensium deliciae fuerint cicadae, fieri potest ut Athenis primum sit inventa persona ista, ut 'Ἐμπόρευς aliae."

in especially denoted at $\chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (*periphrasis*) is well attested in the ancient comedy: the comic dramatists are full of this thing - & can hardly be handled

portrayed, if there were not set over against it the class of the foreign μάγισσοι represented by the mask called Τέττιξ? It is, moreover, noteworthy that Athenaeus says both these names of masks were used by those whom he calls οἱ παλαιοί. These words must refer to none other than the earliest comic poets, since we have no trace of any reference to these characters by name in the fragments of the Old Comedy at Athens. Let us therefore suppose that the mask called Τέττιξ was also familiar to Dorian Comedy. How, then, shall we explain the name itself?

It is well known that the Athenians in early times wore representations of the cicadae in some form of ornaments as emblematic of their being indigenous to the soil (αὐτόχθονες). In fact, Thucydides tells us that even in his day it had not been long since the older Athenians left off wearing these golden ornaments in their hair.¹ Aristophanes also refers to this old custom in the *Nubes* (983): Ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα.² This custom and notion of the old Athenians was doubtless well known to the people of Megara at that time, especially since, at the close of the seventh century before our era, the Megarians and Athenians had met in the conflict (between 610 and 600 B. C.) which was finally decided by arbitration in favor of the Athenians. This would necessarily leave feelings of hostility in the minds of the Megarians. What more suitable, then, than that in the Dorian Comedy the mask of the foreign μάγισσος should receive its name in ridicule of a custom in a neighboring rival state? How could this have been more successfully accomplished than by having this character on the comic stage wear cicadae in the manner which characterized their neighbors, the Athenians? In this way the Megarians might

¹Thuc. i, 6: Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι . . . οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐπαύσαντο . . . χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν.

²Cf. Suidas under the lemma τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα, where he explains the use of the epithet as applied to the Athenians. Cf. also Arist., *Eq.* 1331, τεττιγοφόρας.

also further make sport of the claim of the Athenians that they and the cicadae were indigenous to the soil (if we accept this interpretation of the custom), by calling the mask of the foreign *μάγιστος* by this name. I would therefore hold—what seems to me most likely—that the name of the character *Τέρτιξ* in Dorian Comedy originated in this reference to an ancient and familiar custom of the Athenians. The reputation of Athenian *μάγιστοι* among other peoples of that remote time may have added much to the effectiveness of such a representation in the Dorian Comedy.

The name would thus have been handed down to the time of the New Attic Comedy, along with that of Maeson, though its real origin had long since been forgotten in the course of three centuries. For it must be borne in mind that Pollux, in the passage quoted above, is describing the characters of the New Attic Comedy. It will presently be seen that the characters of both the domestic and the foreign *μάγιστοι* were in evidence on the comic stage of later times, though Pollux may simply have applied the old names of the masks, as he learned them from preceding writers, to the two distinctive types of *μάγιστοι* that still prevailed at the period of the New Attic Comedy. But the old names no longer carried with them the exact significance that attached to them when the masks were invented for use in the Dorian Comedy.

(b) *Conditions portrayed in Greek Comedy.*—Let us next endeavor to discover as far as possible the social condition of the *μάγιστοι* as portrayed under these masks in comedy. Here again the statement of Athenaeus quoted above (p. 13) claims our first attention:

Χρύσιππος . . . , ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Μαίσιων γέγονε κωμῳδίας ὑποκριτῆς Μεγαρεὺς τὸ γένος, ὃς καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον εἶρε τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον Μαίσωνα, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Προσώπων, εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν φάσκων καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεράποντος πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ τοῦ μαγείρου.

The information contained in this passage from Athenaeus has an important bearing upon the social status of μάγειροι at the period of the Dorian Comedy. For if the actor Maeson invented two separate and distinct masks for the μάγειρος and the θεράπων, as is clearly demonstrated, must we not conclude that the condition of the μάγειροι of the time differed from that of the ordinary θεράποντες? Yet someone may point to the Pollux passage already quoted (p. 14), as proving that the μάγειρος in comedy was depicted as a θεράπων or even a δούλος (if we hold to the earlier distinction in the use of these words). But Pollux is here discussing the characters of the New Attic Comedy, as has been noted, and during this later period there seems to have been much more reason for such a reference to the comic character of the μάγειροι. This will be made clear below. Moreover, it may be argued that another passage in the same author (*Onom.* iv, 118 f.), where he is discussing the comic dress, goes to prove that the μάγειρος was not attired in comedy as the ordinary δούλος. His words are these:

Κωμικὴ δὲ ἐσθῆς ἐξωμὶς· ἔστι δὲ χιτῶν λευκός, ἄσημος, κατὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν πλευρὰν ῥαφὴν οὐκ ἔχων, ἄγναπτος. . . . τῇ δὲ τῶν δούλων ἐξωμίδι καὶ ἱματιδίῳ τι πρόσκειται λευκόν, ὃ ἐγκόμβωμα λέγεται, ἢ ἐπίρρημα. τῷ δὲ μαγείρῳ διπλῇ ἄγναπτος ἢ ἐσθῆς.¹

A passage in Lucian (*De saltatione*, cap. 29) confirms this belief:

Ἡ κωμῳδία δὲ καὶ τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν τὸ καταγέλαστον μέρος τοῦ τερπνοῦ αὐτῇ νενόμικεν, οἷα Δάων καὶ Τιβίων καὶ μαγείρων πρόσωπα.

For it must be remembered that Lucian was familiar with such names as these here mentioned, from the Roman comic poets, who commonly employed them as slave-names. In this place, then, Lucian apparently distinguishes between such slave characters as these names would indicate at his

¹See the chapter on "Dress of the Μάγειροι," where this passage is further discussed (pp. 71 f.).

time on the comic stage, and the character of the *μάγειρος* in comedy. Yet our chief evidence for the Dorian Comedy is contained in the quotation from the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium preserved by Athenaeus. From this passage alone, however, we may safely conclude that the *μάγειρος* in early Greek Comedy, at least, was portrayed as a *θεράπων* only in the free and honorable sense as opposed to the servile condition of the *δοῦλος* of that time, while the mask of the *μάγειρος* indicated that he was of a social rank and standing dissimilar even to that of the ordinary *θεράπων*.

In the Old Attic Comedy I can nowhere find a reference to *μάγειροι* such as would indicate a servile condition on their part. Wherever direct allusion is made to the *μάγειρος* in Aristophanes, in fact, the great poet seems to imply that *ἡ μαγειρική* was the province of the skilled professional who, with his assistants, was employed on important occasions.¹

But in the Middle and New Attic Comedy we find our richest, most abundant material for determining the position of the *μάγειροι*. The very fact that they are such an important figure in the Comedy of this period would lead one to surmise that their position was not a mean one, despite our recognition of the intended exaggeration of facts and circumstances upon the comic stage. Such things are of frequent occurrence upon the boards at the present time. But it is not likely that slaves should have repeatedly sustained so important a rôle in Greek Comedy as was that of the *μάγειροι* during the periods of the Middle and New Comedy. Athenaeus is furthermore our authority for the following statement (xiv, 658 f.): Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εὖροι τις ὑμῶν δοῦλον *μάγειρόν τινα ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ πλὴν παρὰ Ποσειδίππῳ μόνῳ*. This is confirmed beyond a doubt by my study of the comic fragments. Nowhere in any of the extant fragments is the employer of a *μάγειρος* addressed as a slave would address

¹Cf. pp. 48 f., 52, with references there given.

his master. In every instance the μάγειρος acts as an independent person proud of his accomplishments in his art. As regards the condition of these characters as portrayed in Posidippus (who continued to write his plays long after the beginning of the fourth century B. C.), the passages to which Athenaeus refers may be preserved by him, as Meineke (IV, 514 f.) has suggested, in the following (XIV, 659c):¹

Ἄλλ' ὃ γε Ποσειδίππος περὶ δούλων μαγείρων ἐν Ἀποκλειομένη φησὶν·

ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα. συμβαίνει δέ τι

νῦν μοι διακονοῦντι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη

ἀστέιον· οὐχ ἁλώσομ' ἐκφέρων κρέας.

καὶ ἐν Συντρόφοις·

ἐβάδιζες ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν μάγειρος ὦν;

B. ἐντὸς πυλῶν γὰρ <ἄν> μένων ἄδειπνος ἦν.

A. πότερ' οὖν ἀφείσαι; B. κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐργάζομαι·

ἐπρίατο γάρ τις ὁμότεχνός με γνώριμος.

If we assume this to be the case, the greater is our disappointment at not being able to know how much more of these plays existed at the time of Athenaeus. For if it were permitted us to explain these two passages from plays of Posidippus without any reference to the statement of the erudite Athenaeus, I would interpret them differently from either Casaubon or Meineke² in the one instance, and from the generally accepted explanation of Dobree in the other.³ I would say that in both cases a ὑποδιάκονος⁴ speaks of the μάγειρος with whom he is learning the art. In the former passage such an assistant of a μάγειρος glories in the fact that he is now serving with such a master of the art that he has no more fears of being caught in the act of filching

¹ Cf. M. IV, 514 and 520; K. III, 336 and 342.

² See Meineke, IV, 514 f. where Casaubon's view is given, as well as his own interpretation of the fragment.

³ See M. IV, 520, where Dobree's view is cited and adopted.

⁴ Cf. Posid. in Ath. ix, 376e (M. IV. 521; K. III, 342; l. 10), where the word occurs in this sense.

the meat,¹ at least not while in the service of so ingenious a person. The second fragment seems to me to confirm this view. This *μάγειρος* has been hired only in the sense that he has become a part of the retinue of a more distinguished disciple of the art and so says he works in the market-place. His superior has been employed to go into the country for some particular occasion, and this assistant is to accompany him. Hence the remark of the *ὑποδιάκονος* that he is going outside the gates to get his dinner.² At any rate, however these passages may be interpreted, the evidence adduced by Athenaeus in support of his statement is very slight. And though we may accept the statement as true, without reference to these quotations, we must decide from our study of other more important fragments of Posidippus that even this author did not commonly represent the *μάγειρος* in a servile condition. In one of these fragments (M. IV, 513; K. III, 335) someone hires a *μάγειρος* in the market-place, and the rivalries existing between members of the profession at such a time are clearly depicted. Again, Posidippus (M. IV, 521; K. III, 342) portrays a prince of *μάγειροι* in conversation with his *συνδιάκονοι* (vs. 1) who gives the advice (vss. 3 ff.): Τῶν ἡδυσμάτων | πάντων κράτιστόν ἐστιν ἐν μαγειρικῇ | ἀλαζονεία. In a third passage preserved to us from the same author (M. IV, 523; K. III, 344), a *μάγειρος* boasts of one of his profession and compares him to a general in the midst of the conflict as he meets the ravenous mouths that are ready to make depredations on his dainty dishes. Athenaeus says, moreover, elsewhere (xiv, 661d):³ Καὶ Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Λεβητίῳ δηλοῖ ὅτι ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη ἐπιτήδευμα ἦν ἐλευθέρων· πολίτης γάρ τις οὐκ ἀγενὴς ἐν αὐτῷ δεικνύται ὁ

¹ See p. 85, where this trait of the *μάγειρος* is discussed.

² Dobree's view partly coincides with this opinion: "Nempe quidam ruri degens hunc coquum apud forum isto die conduxerat."

³ Cf. M. III, 440; K. II, 343. Cf. also Pliny, *N. H.* xviii, 108, quoted by Koek.

μάγειρος. It is noteworthy that Alexis belongs to the transition period from the Old Comedy to the New.

Nor should we consider the position of the μάγειροι as a slavish one because of the ill treatment accorded them, as depicted by some writers of the New Comedy, for this seems to have happened mainly when a μάγειρος was employed by young sports of the time for some festive occasion.¹ Besides, fragments might be quoted which show a distinct regard for the feelings of the μάγειρος.² And there was a familiar proverb regarding the treatment of the μάγειρος given by Eubulus to this effect (M. III, 235; K. II, 184):³

'Αλλ' ἡκούσαμεν
καὶ τοῦτο, νῆ τὴν Ἑστίαν, οἴκοι ποθ' ὥς
ὅσ' ἂν ὁ μάγειρος ἐξαμάρτη, τύπτεται,
ὥς φασιν, αὐληγῆς παρ' ὑμῖν.

And even as late as Menander we find a similar sentiment expressed in one of his fragments (M. IV, 108; K. III, 39):

Οὐδὲ εἰς
μάγειρον ἀδικήσας ἀθῶος διέφυγεν·
ἱεροπρεπὲς πῶς ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἡ τέχνη,

which further appears to point to a common interest prevalent among members of the profession.

The μάγειρος, therefore, was certainly not represented in the character of a slave on the comic stage—so far as the comic fragments indicate—up to the time of Posidippus, and even then very rarely.⁴

¹ Cf. Diphilus, in Ath. vii, 292c (M. IV, 394; K. II, 553; ll. 26 ff.); also Archedicus, in Ath. VII, 294b (M. IV, 436; K. III, 277).

² Cf. Mnesimachus, in Ath. ix, 403 a, b (M. III, 568; K. II, 437; vss. 24 ff.).

³ Cf. Philyllius in Ath. ix, 381a (M. II, 862, K. I, 784):

"Ὅτι ἂν τύχη
μάγειρος ἀδικήσας, τὸν αὐλητὴν λαβεῖν
πληγὰς.

⁴ Too much must not be inferred from the fact that the Roman comic poets who imitated the writers of the New Attic Comedy depicted the cooks as in a slavish condition. While Plautus and Terence drew largely from Greek sources, they would nevertheless be likely to represent menials of their own times as slaves in their imitations or adaptations of plays from the Greek. Moreover, the μάγειροι were not the

We next turn to the consideration of the evidence at our disposal outside of Comedy.

III. AS DEPICTED OUTSIDE OF COMEDY

(a) *Before 300 B. C.*—Too much stress must not be laid upon the statement quoted by Athenaeus (xiv, 661e) from writers on cookery:

Καὶ οἱ τὰ Ὀψαρτυτικὰ δὲ συγγράψαντες Ἡρακλείδης τε καὶ Γλαῦκος ὁ Λοκρὸς οὐχ ἀρμόττειν φασὶ <“δούλοισι”> τὴν μαγειρικὴν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τῶν ἐλευθέρων.”

And yet such a statement seems to be confirmed by the public honors conferred on the μάγειροι in certain places. Timaeus,¹ for example, says that certain persons were crowned at public feasts of the Sybarites, ἐν οἷς στεφανοῦσθαι καὶ τῶν μαγείρων τοὺς ἄριστα τὰ παρατεθέντα διασκευάσαντας. Cleidemus also gives evidence of the condition of the μάγειροι, according to Athenaeus (xiv, 660a):²

Ὅτι δὲ σεμνὸν ἦν ἡ μαγειρικὴ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Κηρίκων. οἶδε γὰρ μαγείρων καὶ βουτύπων ἐπεῖχον τάξιν, ὥς φησιν Κλείδημος ἐν Πρωτογονίας πρώτῳ.

Cleidemus apparently refers to this same office of the μάγειροι as public functionaries in another passage quoted by Athenaeus (xiv, 660d):³

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἀτθίδος Κλείδημος φύλον ἀποφαίνει μαγείρων ἐχόντων δημιουργικὰς τιμὰς, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνεργεῖν ἔργον ἦν.

Among the Spartans, we learn from Herodotus (vi, 60), the art of the μάγειρος was an inherited one:

only class of cooks depicted in the New Attic Comedy. The Roman writers very probably chose to portray the condition of the class that most nearly accorded with the status of cooks in their own day.

¹ Cf. Athen. xii, 519 d and e; *F. H. G.* I, 205.

² Cf. *F. H. G.* I, 362. The entire passage will be discussed at greater length in a subsequent chapter. See pp. 55 f.

³ Cf. *F. H. G.* I, 359. The latter part of the text is evidently corrupt. Possibly ἐνεργεῖν here may be equal to ἐνεργεῖν, as Schweighäuser has suggested (*ad h. l.*).

Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρώϊας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέω γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι.

Here again, as Stein observes in his note on the passage,¹ the reference is to the official μάγειροι who were employed at sacrifices and *φιδίτια* among the Spartans and set up statues of their heroes at these *φιδίτια*, according to Polemon.² A more comprehensive statement is that of Demetrius:³

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ Τρωικοῦ διακόσμου ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ φησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ὑακινθίδος ἰδρῦσθαι ἥρωας Μάττωνα καὶ Κεράωνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις ποιούντων τε τὰς μάζας καὶ κεραυνόντων τὸν ὄϊνον διακόνων.

We may compare also the statement in Athenaeus (iv, 172f-173b) regarding the Delian μάγειροι.⁴ All these passages apparently refer directly to the μάγειροι in their public official capacity. Can we doubt that they were not slaves who were thus honored? Surely there is nothing in the quotations cited above to lead one to suppose they were in a servile condition, while the use of such words as *διακόνων* and such expressions as *μαγείρων ἐχόντων δημιουργικὰς τιμὰς* with reference to them naturally leads us to conclude that no allusion can here be made to ordinary slaves.

But these are not the only references to the older μάγειροι among the Greeks. The first Olympian victor was a μάγειρος, according to Athenaeus (ix, 382b):⁵ Καίτοι καὶ ὁ

¹ Cf. Macon's note on the same passage.

² See Athen. ii, 39c: Πολέμων φησιν ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἥρωα Ἀκρατοπότην τιμᾶσθαι, παρὰ δὲ Σπαρτιάταις Μάττωνα καὶ Κεράωνα ἥρωας ὑπὸ τινων μαγείρων ἰδρῦσθαι ἐν τοῖς φειδιτίοις.

³ Cf. Athen. iv, 173 f. See also Eustathius on *Odysse.*, p. 1413, ll. 20 ff., where this passage is quoted. Compare Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 278.

⁴ This passage is discussed in a subsequent chapter; cf. p. 49.

⁵ Quoted by Eustathius on *Il.*, p. 879, l. 41, where the expression οὐ μεγάλης τέχνης ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἀλλὰ μάγειρος, is doubtless influenced by a knowledge of the position of the μάγειρος in later times.

πρῶτος τῶν τὸν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀγῶνα ἀναδησαμένων Κόροιβος ὁ Ἡλείος μάγειρος ἦν. It is not surprising that such a tradition should have prevailed among μάγειροι as famous as those of the Eleans appear to have been.¹ Reference is made to the wife of an Elean μάγειρος by the writer of a speech that has been transmitted to us under the name of Demosthenes.² This Nicarete is mentioned as Χαρίσίου μὲν οὖσα τοῦ Ἡλείου ἀπελευθέρᾳ, Ἰππίου δὲ τοῦ μαγείρου τοῦ ἐκείνου γυνή. Hippias himself was doubtless at least a freedman. There seems to be satisfactory evidence at hand of a certain Thearion, a baker, having been an Athenian citizen.³ Much more may we suppose, from all the evidence adduced, that in the earliest times the μάγειροι were often likewise citizens. But especially do frequent references in Plato and other writers in early times indicate that ἡ μαγειρική τέχνη was held in some repute at Athens.⁴

(b) *After 300 B. C.*—That a change in the condition of the μάγειρος began to be noticeable during the first half of the third century before Christ seems to be proved from numerous references in late authors, but more particularly from statements made by Athenaeus. Noteworthy are these words of Athenaeus (xiv, 659a): Δοῦλοι δ' ὀψοποιοὶ παρήλθον ὑπὸ πρώτων Μακεδόνων τοῦτ' ἐπιτηδευσάντων ἢ δι' ὕβριν ἢ δι' ἀτυχίαν τῶν αἰχμαλωτισθεισῶν πόλεων. He is here using the term ὀψοποιοί loosely for μάγειροι.⁵ With the ever-increasing conquest, therefore, came a corresponding increase in the luxury connected with the every-day life of certain peoples. The skilled μάγειροι were doubtless taken along with the spoils of war in Macedonian times, and thus became a part of the domestic retainers of kings and

¹ See p. 39.

² Cf. [Demosth.], 59, 18.

³ Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 518 B, and see p. 29 and n. 2.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Politicus* 289 A and C, and see pp. 91 f.

⁵ Cf. Ath. xiv, 659c: 'Ἄλλ' ὅ γε Ποσειδίππος περὶ δούλων μαγείρων, etc.

princes. The statement of Athenaeus seems to be confirmed by a story told by Plutarch (*De lib. educ.* 11, B and C) concerning one of the Antigonid kings (277–168 B.C.). Here the mention of an ἀρχιμάγειρος goes to show that there were other μάγειροι in the royal household. This man was intrusted with a commission of some importance. Plutarch's account is as follows:¹

Ἀντίγονον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐτερόφθαλμον ὄντα τὴν πέρωσιν προφέρων εἰς οὐ μετρίαν ὀργὴν κατέστησε. τὸν γὰρ ἀρχιμάγειρον Εὐτροπίωνα γεγενημένον ἐν τάξει πέμψας παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡξίον καὶ λόγον δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ταῦτα δ' ἀπαγγέλλοντος ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πολλάκις προσιόντος “εὖ οἶδ’” ἔφησεν “ὅτι ὡμόν με θέλεις τῷ Κύκλωπι παραθεῖναι,” ὀνειδίζων τὸν μὲν ὅτι πηρός, τὸν δ' ὅτι μάγειρος ᾔν.

The explanation of the author may be justly taken as applying only to the condition of the μάγειρος in much later times, with which he himself was familiar.

Certainly, by the time of Athenaeus μάγειροι had become a regular part of the household, as we learn from his work (vi, 275b):

Νῦν δέ, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν μετρίως εὐπορουμένων, ὅστις οὐ πολυτελῆ μὲν τράπεζαν παρατίθεται, μαγείρους δὲ καὶ θεραπείαν ἄλλην πολλὴν κέκτηται καὶ πλείω δαπανᾷ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ πρότερον ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἀνήλυσκον.

Those of moderate means, therefore, as well as the rich, in the time of Athenaeus had skilled μάγειροι among the servants of the house. The existence of this state of affairs is lamented by such a writer as Clement of Alexandria (p. 268, Potter):

Φεύγοντες γὰρ αὐτουργίαν καὶ αὐτοδιακονίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεράποντας καταφεύγουσιν, ὀψοποιῶν καὶ τραπεζοποιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντέχνως εἰς μοίρας κατατεμνόντων τὰ κρέα τὸν πολλὸν συνωνούμενοι ὄχλον.

¹ The story is told about the rhetorician Theocritus, who was punished (11 C) for the reply made to the μάγειρος here mentioned.

The rich, as often happens, carried things to excess, so that we hear of one wealthy man who compelled his μάγειροι to learn the dialogues of Plato and recite them as the food was served to the guests at table.¹ But such practices were generally discountenanced, Athenaeus seems to say. It may be inferred that some of the μάγειροι, at least, were not uneducated. Still the personal characteristics of the skilled μάγειρος apparently do not differ greatly from those μάγειροι of former times, if we may judge from the description of the imaginary feast in Athenaeus. Indeed, professional μάγειροι who were not a part of any household probably still existed.

The μάγειροι (in a technical sense) having become so much more common, they were naturally treated with much less regard than in their palmy days of the past. This was sometimes carried to an extreme, so that Epictetus condemns (*Dissert.* iii, 19, 5) the unjust treatment at the hands of the pedagogues of the time:

Πάλιν ἂν μὴ εὖρωμεν φαγεῖν ἐκ βαλανείου, οὐδέποθ' ἡμῶν καταστέλλει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁ παιδαγωγός, ἀλλὰ δέρει τὸν μάγειρον. ἄνθρωπε, μὴ γὰρ ἐκείνου σε παιδαγωγὸν κατεστήσαμεν; ἀλλὰ τοῦ παιδίου ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἐπανόρθου, τοῦτο ὠφέλει.

Passages in Lucian point to a like estimation of the condition of the μάγειροι.² Their actual condition as late as Athenaeus is very clearly demonstrated in his book, which has already been quoted many times. A striking passage is the following (x, 420e):

Οἱ δὲ νῦν συνάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ δείπνα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βοῶσι, κεκράγασι, βλασφημοῦσι τὸν οἰνοχόον, τὸν διάκονον, τὸν μάγειρον· κλαίουσιν δ' οἱ παῖδες τυπτόμενοι κονδύλοις ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν. καὶ οὐχ οἷον οἱ κεκλημένοι μετὰ πάσης ἀηδίας δειπνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν τύχη θυσία τις οὔσα, παρακαλυψάμενος ὁ θεὸς οἰχήσεται καταλιπὼν οὐ μόνον τὸν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν.

¹ Cf. Athen. ix, 381f-382b.

² Cf. Lucian, *De mercede cond.*, 32, 691; *Vitar. auctio*, 20, 580; *De parasito*, 12, 850.

And a μάγειρος at the banquet of the Deipnosophistae is made to reply (ix, 405e): Καταφρονεῖς ὅτι μάγειρός εἰμι ἴσως· ὅσον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης εἰργάσαμ' ἐγώ, etc. From many similar passages in Athenaeus we see that the μάγειροι of that time brought the food into the dining-room, engaged in conversation with the guests, and frequently described the process of preparing some dish on which they prided themselves.¹ They received their due meed of praise from the epicureans present at such times.² Yet they are spoken of as ὁ παῖς or even ὁ στιγματίας (though in jocular vein).³

Hence we must conclude that, though the title of μάγειρος continued to be applied to the professional cook of late Greek times,⁴ its significance, as regarded his social position, from the third century before our era underwent considerable changes in accordance with the general changed conditions of life.

¹ Cf. Athen. ix, 381a, where a μάγειρος describes how he cooked a pig to the delight of the guests; ix, 406a, where the dish *rhodonía* is described; xiv, 632e, where a μάγειρος explains the preparation of a dish that bears the name of *μύμα*. And numerous other examples might be cited.

² Cf. Athen. ix, 382b: 'Ο παῖς ἐπὶ τῇ μαγειρικῇ σοφίᾳ ἐπαινεθεῖς, etc.

³ Cf. places cited above (n. 1); also Athen. xiv, 638e.

⁴ Cf. Diog. Laert. ii, 72, and see p. 50 below, where the passage is quoted.

CHAPTER III

NAMES OF ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ

It has seemed worth while to consider the names which *μάγειροι* have in Greek literature, especially since a recent writer¹ contends that these names, even in the Greek Comedy, indicate the condition of slaves for the *μάγειροι*. No attempt will be made to prove that the social condition of *μάγειροι* can be determined at all from the names they possessed, but simply that it is not demonstrable that their names are indicative of their standing. A number of such names found in inscriptions are also included for the sake of completeness.

These names easily fall into two convenient groups: (1) those names which occur in Greek Comedy; (2) those names which are found outside of the Comedy.

First, then, let us eliminate those names which evidently do not belong to *μάγειροι*. In Comedy we find the famous baker (*ἀροκόπος*) Thearion (Arist., in Ath. iii, 112e);² the *τραπέζοποιός* Dracon (Diph., in Ath. vii, 291f); the noted *ὀψοποιός* Simos (Alexis, in Ath. iv, 164b); Syrus, who may not be any sort of a cook (Eriphus, in Ath. iv, 137d). Outside of Comedy are the names of Cyrebus, *ἀροποιός* (Xen., *Mem.* ii, 7, 6); Cyniscus, *ἄρταμος* (*I. G. A.*, Roehl, 543); Coecoa, not necessarily a cook (Sophron, in Ath. ix, 380e and 409a). These names, consequently, do not concern us in our present discussion.

Again, there are a few names of foreign *μάγειροι* who, we may suppose, were never in Greece proper. As such may

¹ Cf. E. Potter, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des ant. grecques et romaines*, s. v. "Coquus ou Cocus."

² Cf. Antiph. in Ath. iii, 112c and d; Plato, *Gorg.* 518 B.

be mentioned Cadmus, *μάρτυρος* of a Syro-Phoenician king (Ath. xiv, 658 *e* and *f*); Pelignas, the skilled *μάρτυρος* of Alexander the Great, according to Athenaeus (xiv, 659*f*); Soterides,¹ whose skill deceived king Nicomedes (Euphron, in Ath. i, 7*d*); Batrachion,² of Larissa, who is compared (in Luc., *Adv. Ind.* 21, 117) to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; Eutropion, *ἀρχιμάρτυρος* (Plut., *Mor.* 11 B, C) of Antigonus, king of the Macedonians. These names would not affect whatever conclusions we may finally draw, however; for no one would hold that Cadmus is a distinctive slave-name, Pelignas occurs only in this passage, Soterides is mentioned in Comedy only in the two places cited above, Eutropion is a name rarely used.

Having eliminated these names, we now proceed with the consideration of the other names in the manner indicated above, and shall endeavor to discover (1) the significance of the names of *μάρτυροι* which are found in Greek Comedy. Here we must distinguish between (*a*) names invented for comic effect; (*b*) names of men probably mere writers on the art of cookery; (*c*) names of real persons not *μάρτυροι* at all, but represented as such in Comedy; (*d*) names indicative of the calling; (*e*) names of *μάρτυροι* proper; (*f*) names that might possibly be slave-names.

Taking up these groups of names in succession, under (*a*) must be placed the name Lycus (Euphron, in Athen. ix, 379*d*), which, though a good Athenian name,³ is evidently chosen to suit the character of a *μάρτυρος* who is noted for his habits of filching. This apt pupil is just about to leave the tutelage of his great teacher in the art and clearly cannot be said to be in the condition of a slave.

¹ Pape (*Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s. v.) does not distinguish between this man and the person mentioned by Euphron as quoted in Ath. ix, 379*d*—wrongly, to my mind.

² The name occurs only in this passage.

³ Cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, s. v.; Pape, s. v.

(b) Here our attention is first attracted to the names which Euphron (M. IV, 486; K. III, 317) saw fit to give to the seven sages in the art of the μάγιστος as they are described by a learned teacher of the art in a fragment of the Ἀδελφοί; Agis the Rhodian,¹ Aphthonetus, Ariston, Chariades the Athenian,² Euthunus, Nereus the Chian, Lamprias. These are μάγιστοι noted for their specialties and may have been writers on the art. Their names, at least, cannot be said to denote, of themselves, a slavish condition. In fact, Pape (s. vv.) cites all the names excepting Ariston (which is not given for this passage)³ as those of μάγιστοι only for this passage. Moreover, names like Agis, Ariston, Chariades, Euthunus are quite familiar, not to say distinguished, Greek names, while Nereus would hardly be thought of as a characteristic slave-name. Names such as Aphthonetus, Ariston, and Euthunus are, because of their etymological signification, very well adapted to men distinguished in their art. Lamprias is also a citizen name elsewhere. Anaxippus (in Ath. ix, 403e) gives us two other names of μάγιστοι noted in their art. These μάγιστοι, Sophon and Damoxenus, whose teacher was the Sicilian Labdacus, could scarcely be called slaves because of their names, especially since the former is also the name of a poet of the New Comedy and the latter occurs but rarely. Labdacus is the name of a μάγιστος only in this passage. Sophon is mentioned as a writer on the art by Baton (in Ath. xiv, 662c) and Pollux (*Onom.* vi, 70). Baton also mentions as writers on the art Semonactides (a name found only here), Tyndarichus (also in Pollux vi, 71), and Zopurinus. Patanion (which appears to be an invented name; compare

¹ Cf. Athen. xii, 516c.

² Cf. Sosipater in Ath. ix, 377f (M. IV, 482; K. III, 314; vs. 11).

³ Despite Meineke's objections (*loc. cit.*) to this name, it must be retained, I think, until some more satisfactory suggestion is made than the loss of a verse after vs. 10. The verbs are easily supplied in vs. 7-10 from §ψε in vs. 6.

παράνῃ) seems to have been a popular teacher in the art (Philetaer. in Ath. iv, 169*e*), his pupils outnumbering those of Stratoniceus.¹ But a particularly famous name was that of Sicon, the leading spirit in the art, according to Sosipater (in Ath. ix, 377*f*). This is a good Athenian name elsewhere, and so the fact that some writers² use it as a slave-name does not argue for the slavish condition of this man.

(*c*) The comic effect of the character of a μάγειρος in a fragment of Damoxenus (in Ath. iii, 102*a*) is heightened by his claim that he was a disciple of the wise Epicurus. The Greek word ἀλαζονεία expresses his chief trait as here depicted.

(*d*) Boedion is mentioned as a μάγειρος by Sosipater (in Ath. ix, 377*f*), the name occurring only here. This μάγειρος was probably noted for his skill as a butcher of cattle.³

(*e*) Daedalus and Thibron may have been noted μάγειροι at Athens at the time of Philostephanus (in Ath. vii, 292*f*-293*a*). These names are used of μάγειροι only in this passage. They are common enough without having any stigma attached. Thibron was even nicknamed Peras ("Perfection") because of his skill. Alexis (in Ath. ix, 383*c*) has a μάγειρος of an ingenious nature whose name, Glaucias, may have been due to his color. Seuthes is compared to a general in Posidippus (in Ath. ix, 377*b*). The name occurs only here of a μάγειρος. Another name, Leucon, employed by Posidippus (in Ath. ix, 376*e*) is not a slave-name as used here, for Leucon is a pupil of the great master who is speaking on this occasion. It might easily be a slave-name elsewhere.

(*f*) Yet some may still contend that there is positive evidence of the condition of the μάγειροι in such names as Dromon and Carion. The former occurs in a fragment of

¹ Usually referred to the noted cithara-player, but not necessarily so, I think. It may here be the name of another great master in the art of cookery.

² Cf. Arist., *Eccles.* 887.

³ Cf. pp. 64 ff.

Dionysius (in Ath. ix, 381c). Nothing can be proved as to the social standing of the μάγειρος here, however, for Dromon is represented as a pupil under the instruction of a noted master in the art. It is found only here as the name of a μάγειρος, and, indeed, in another fragment, of Euphron (in Ath. ix, 377d), the same name is applied to a club member who employs a μάγειρος for a stated occasion.

The name Carion is not so easily disposed of. Yet even here the only passage in which we have certain evidence of the use of the name in a comic writer is in a fragment of Euphron (in Ath. ix, 377d). Fortunately, the fragment is sufficiently long to make it clear that Carion is not a slave, for he has just had an experience as chef for clubmen and is now about to accompany another μάγειρος to a marriage feast. This at least proves that the name is not always used in Comedy, not even in the New Comedy, of slaves. So far, so good. But there are two other passages quoted in late writers, that may both have arisen from Comedy, in which this name occurs of a μάγειρος. The passage from Alciphron (3, 53, 1) is referred to Comedy by Kock.¹ But the fragment proves nothing as to the real condition of the μάγειρος. In fact, it is not distinctly stated that Carion was a μάγειρος. The μάγειρος ὁ κωμωδικός is recognized, however, in the passage in Themistius (*Or.* 21, 262c) by his personal characteristics. But here again we cannot discover any proof of the condition of Carion. Still someone may argue that the name is commonly used of slaves.² True, but I have shown that the μάγειρος of this name in Euphron was not a slave, and this is the only passage from Comedy by

¹ Cf. *Rh. Mus.* XLIII (1888), p. 37.

² Cf. Arist., *Plut.* 1100 ff. See also Hyp. v to Arist., *Plut.*: Καὶ τὸ Καρίων ἐξελληνισμένον τὸν δούλον δηλοῖ· Κᾶρες γὰρ οἱ δούλοι, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία, ἐν Κάρῳ αἰση, ἦτοι ἐν δούλου τάξει. A similar statement is that of Dio Chrysostom 32, 93 f., *De Arnim.*: "Ὅσοι γὰρ ἤδη πολλάκις εἶπον, αἰσχρὸν τὰ αἰσχροῦ καὶ καταγέλαστα μᾶλλον, ὅταν ᾖ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδαῖς καὶ διασκευαῖς Καρίωνα μὲν εἰσάγοντες μεθύοντα καὶ Δῖον οὐ σφέδρα κινουσι γέλωτα. But this was not necessarily always the case.

Why not include demonstrably *not* names in Roman comedy.
+ cf. Schmidt.

which we can really judge the condition of a *μάγιστος* who bears this name.

So far as I know, these are the only names of *μάγιστοι* that occur in extant Comedy. It has at least been demonstrated that the social status of the *μάγιστοι*, as herein portrayed, cannot be judged from the names applied to them. It must be remembered, moreover, that this fact is not used as an argument in proof of what seems to me to be true concerning their condition. There is too great an element of uncertainty involved in such a course of reasoning. Doubtless names of men in high official public positions may have been applied to the *μάγιστοι* on the Greek stage, and the real condition of the characters was portrayed in the situations presented rather than in any names that might be employed.

Finally, let us consider (2) the names of *μάγιστοι* outside the Greek Comedy. Here the material is largely drawn from inscriptional evidence. Plato (*Gorg.* 518 B) refers to Mithaecus,¹ the writer on Sicilian cookery, and [Pseudo-] Demosthenes (59, 18) mentions the *μάγιστος* Hippias, husband of a certain Nicarete. Nicarete is a freedwoman of one Charisius and follows a trade of her own, so that Hippias would hardly be a slave of Charisius. At any rate, his name does not stand for any such servile condition. The other references in literature are from late writers. A *μάγιστος* at the banquet of the *Deipnosophistae* (Ath. ix, 382b) boasts that the noted Elean Coroebus was one of his profession.² This may be simply a vainglorious statement of the *μάγιστος*, or it may contain a grain of truth in that the Olympian victors offered sacrifices to the gods after their successful encounters. In this sense Coroebus may have

¹ Cf. Athen. iii, 112d.

² Cf. Eustathius on *Il.* A, 697 (p. 879, l. 39), where Athenaeus is quoted. At the time of Eustathius, or even of Athenaeus, it must be borne in mind, the condition of the *μάγιστοι* had undergone a decided change.

had the attributes of a *μάγυρος*.¹ In Athenaeus also we find a *μάγυρος* named Sophon, who was probably a namesake of the noted writer on the art.²

The inscriptions relating to *μάγυροι* are for the most part late and refer to them generally in their capacity in connection with sacrifices.³ The earliest of such inscriptions is apparently that in Roehl, *Imagines*,⁴ p. 35, No. 2. The Callistratus here mentioned was doubtless some distinguished *μάγυρος* in the temple of Aesculapius, as Kabbadias⁵ points out. The name is a good one and needs no further comment. The names Heracleodorus and Pataecus occur in an Attic inscription (*C. I. A.* IV, 775b, col. ii, 4 and col. iii, 30). These *μάγυροι* had made votive offerings to the gods because of their success in lawsuits in which they were involved. Evidently they are not slaves. Another inscription (in Cauer, *Delectus*², 356) contains part of the name of a *μάγυρος*, Πουθογ[τρ[ων]. With the exception of the names Agathon (on a gravestone of Roman times [*I. G. Sept.* I, 1562]) and Ammonas and Dioscorus (*Oxyrh. Papyr.* CXVIII, 33, 34, of the third century A. D.), the other names on inscriptions all relate to officials connected with sacrifices or some duties of the temple. None of these inscriptions is earlier than the second century B.C., while most of them are much later in their date. The names herein discovered are as follows: Soterichus (*I. G. Sept.* III, 487, 14), Philodamus (Le Bas et Foucart, *Inscr. du Pélop.*, 163a, l. 33), Nicandrus (*I. G. Sept.* III, 486, 16),⁶ Alexandrus (*Olympia*, V, 62, 18), Alexas (*Ol.* V, 64, 33), Heracleides (*Ol.* V, 66, 8), Epaphrodeitus (*Ol.* V, 74, 12), Syntrophus (*Ol.* V, 87, 3), Zosimus (*I. G. Sicil.* 617, 9), Pasacon (*C. I. G.* 1239, col. ii, 7, 8), Nicephorus (*B. C. H.* IX [1885], p. 513).

¹ Cf. pp. 55 ff.

² Cf. Athen. xiv, 622e.

³ See pp. 55 ff.

⁴ Roehl, *Imagines inscriptionum Graecarum antiquissimarum*.

⁵ In 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1885, p. 198. Cf. *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, p. 37, No. 12.

⁶ Also in *C. I. G.* II Add. 1793b.

All these names but Syntrophus, Pasacon, and Epaphroditus are common ones. These three are cited by Pape only for inscriptions. Epaphroditus is also an ordinary name. The condition of these μάγειροι in their official capacity will be treated in a later chapter.¹ It may be observed, however, that most of the evidence outside of Comedy is much later than the third century B. C. Hence any conclusion regarding the use of these names would probably not affect my previous conclusions with respect to the social status of the μάγειροι before 300 B. C. They can at least not be said in themselves to point to a servile condition of the μάγειροι.

¹See pp. 55 ff.

CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN OF THE ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ

As regards the region of the Greek world from which *μάγειροι* came, the comic fragments furnish sufficient evidence that they were not limited to any single district or country. Yet the Greeks had their favorite *μάγειροι*, just as we have our noted chefs today, and certain localities were famous for the training of these *μάγειροι*.

The Attic *μάγειροι* were distinguished, it appears, for at least one dish, which the Greeks called *θρίον*.¹ It was because of his skill in making a particular kind that Chariades (οὐξ Ἀθηνῶν, vs. 7) was said to have been counted among the seven sages of the art in former times, if we may trust the words of a *μάγειρος* in a fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 486; K. III, 317). Dionysius (M. III, 547; K. II, 423; vss. 36-42) apparently represents another Attic *μάγειρος* who boasts of his knowledge of the art and especially mentions the dish *θρίον*:

Τουτονὶ δ' ὃν ἀρτίως
ἔφης ἔχοντα πείραν ἦκειν πολυτελῶν
πολλῶν τε δείπνων ἐπιλαθέσθαι, Σιμία,
πάντων ποιήσω, θρίον ἂν δείξω μόνον
παραθῶ τε δείπνον ὅζον αὖρας Ἀττικῆς.
ἐξ ἀντλίας ἦκοντα καὶ γέμοντ' ἔτι
φορτηγικῶν μοι βρωμάτων ἀγωνίαις
τῇμῃ ποιήσω νυστάσαι παροψίδι.

Here we see the native Attic *μάγειρος* contrasting his skill with that of one from abroad. We also hear of a distinguished Athenian *μάγειρος* in Philostephanus (M. IV, 589; K. III,

¹Cf. Arist., *Acharn.* 1102, and scholiast on this passage.

393) who has attained perfection in his art, to judge from his nickname of Peras (vs. 3). And yet Attic dinners were much ridiculed by some of the writers of Comedy. And so, when a Thessalian is to be entertained, an Attic μάγειρος will not suit the occasion, according to Alexis (M. III, 480; K. II, 375):¹

Ἐγωγε δύο λαβεῖν μαγείρους βούλομαι
οὓς ἂν σοφωτάτους δύνωμ' ἐν τῇ πόλει·
μέλλοντα δειπνίζειν γὰρ ἄνδρα Θετταλὸν
οὐκ Ἀττικηρῶς οὐδ' ἀπηκριβωμένως
λιμῷ παρελθεῖν . . . ἃ δέει καθ' ἐν
ἑκαστον αὐτοῖς παρατιθέντα μεγαλείως δέ.

This is the explanation of the passage by Athenaeus where he quotes it (iv, 137c). The dislike of foreigners for Attic fare is amusingly portrayed in Lynceus, as well as their contempt for Attic stinginess.² The Perinthian speaks as follows (M. IV, 433; K. III, 274; vss. 1-16):

Μάγειρ', ὁ θύων ἔσθ' ὁ δειπνίζων τ' ἐμὲ
Ῥόδιος, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κεκλημένος Περίνθιος·
οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἡδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
δείπνοις. ἀηδία γάρ ἐστιν Ἀττικὴ
ὥσπερ ξενική· παρέθηκε πίνακα γὰρ μέγαν,
ἔχοντα μικροὺς πέντε πινακίσκους ἄνω.
τούτων ὁ μὲν ἔχει σκόροδον, ὁ δ' ἐχίνους δύο,
ὁ δὲ θρυμματίδα γλυκεῖαν, ὁ δὲ κόγχας δέκα,
ὁ δ' ἀντακαίου μικρόν. ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἐσθίω,
ἕτερος ἐκείν', ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἐκείνος, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ
ἡφάνισα· βούλομαι δ' ἐγώ, βέλτιστε σύ,
κάκεινο καὶ τοῦτ', ἀλλ' ἀδύνατα βούλομαι·
οὔτε στόματα γὰρ οὔτε χεῖλη πέντ' ἔχω.
ὄψιν μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα ποικίλην,
ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα·
κατέπασα γὰρ τὸ χεῖλος, οὐκ ἐνέπλησα δέ.

¹ Cf. Athen. iv, 137d, on εὐτράπεζοι Θετταλοί, and see p. 39 below.

² Cf. Antiphanes in Ath. iv, 130e (M. III, 94; K. II, 81), where he speaks of Ἕλληνες μικροτράπεζοι φυλλοτρῶγες in a comic passage.

His order is given in vss. 21 f.:

Ὅψάριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραθήσεις μόνον,
ἵνα ταῦτὰ πάντες, μὴ τὸ μὲν ἐγὼ, τὸ δ' ἕτερος.

In an enumeration of what various places were noted for, Antiphanes (M. III, 138; K. II, 115) heads the list with ἐξ Ἑλιδος μάγειρος, so that the μάγειροι from there must have had a fair repute in the art. A boastful μάγειρος in Epicrates (M. III, 369; K. II, 284), moreover, uses these words:

Ἐπὶ τοῖσδ' ἐγὼ
μάγειρος. οὔτε Σικελία καυχῆσεται
τρέφειν τοιοῦτον ἄρταμον κατ' ἰχθύων,
οὐκ Ἑλīs, ἐνθα δελφάκων ἐγὼ κρέα
κάλλιστ' ὅπωπα πυρὸς ἀκμαῖς ἡνθισμένα.

Elis is here classed with Sicily, then, whence, as we shall presently see, came most noted cooks.

An Acarnanian is also mentioned by Anaxippus (M. IV, 459; K. III, 296), but it is to be noted that this Sophon is a disciple of a Sicilian μάγειρος. Sophon, however, is also a teacher of the art (vs. 19) and πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔχει.

In Greece proper mention should likewise be made of the Laconians, who were famous for their black broth. Plutarch (*Vit. Lycurg.* 46 E; *Inst. Lacon.* 236 F) says that Laconian μάγειροι were bought by certain kings in order to make trial of this specialty of theirs.

A certain Tyndarichus, a Sicyonian, is referred to by Baton (M. IV, 501; K. III, 327) as one whose books on the art are read assiduously.

But on the mainland the Thessalians are especially noted for their fine tables, as Eriphus (M. III, 559; K. II, 430) says. This is established by a statement of Athenaeus (xiv, 662 f.):

Ὅμολογοῦνται δ' οἱ Θετταλοὶ πολυτελέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενησθαι περὶ τε τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὴν διαίταν· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐξηλωκόσι τὴν τοῦτων τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν.

Yet by far the most famous μάγειροι appear to have come from Sicily. We have seen above how the Sicilian Labdacus was represented (in Anaxippus, M. IV, 459; K. III, 296) as the teacher of other famous μάγειροι, and how a boastful μάγειρος in Epicrates (M. III, 369; K. II, 284) declares that not even Sicily can boast of such a μάγειρος as he in the cooking of fish. In Plato (*Gorg.* 518 B), moreover, we read of a certain Mithaecus ὁ τὴν ὀψοποιίαν συγγεγραφὸς τὴν Σικελικὴν, and this same writer speaks of Σικελικὴν ποικιλίαν ὀψου in *Rep.* 404 D. It is not surprising, therefore, when Ephippus tells us (M. III, 338; K. II, 262) that Sicilian methods of cooking are favorably known. Let us note his words, probably spoken by a μάγειρος:

Πότερον ἐγὼ

τὴν βατίδα τεμάχη κατατεμὼν ἔψω; τί φῆς;

ἢ Σικελικῶς ὁπτιὴν ποιήσω; B. Σικελικῶς.

The fame of Sicilian cookery is further attested by Athenaeus (xii, 518c): Διαβόητοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ αἱ τῶν Σικελῶν τράπεζαι. Antiphanes, too, mentions (M. III, 49; K. II, 48) Σικελῶν δὲ τέχναις ἡδυνθεῖσθαι | δαιτὸς διαθρυμματίδες. In a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 394; K. II, 306) a μάγειρος apparently makes this boast:

Οὕτως δ' ὀψοποιεῖν εὐφυνῶς

περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν αὐτὸς ἔμαθον, ὥστε τοὺς

δειπνοῦντας εἰς τὰ βατάν' ἐμβάλλειν ποιῶ

ἐνίοτε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

He had learned the art in Sicily. Even the sweet odors of Sicilian cookery seem to have been readily recognized, as a fragment of Cratinus Junior (M. III, 374; K. II, 289) indicates:

Ἐνθυμεί δὲ τῆς γῆς ὡς γλυκὺ

ὄζει, καπνὸς τ' ἐξέρχεται εὐωδέστερος;

οἰκεῖ τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν τῷ χάσματι

λιβανωτοπώλης ἢ μάγειρος Σικελικός.

It is scarcely to be wondered at, then, that Philemon called one of his plays *Σικελικός*,¹ wherein he doubtless portrayed (M. IV, 24; K. II, 498) those arts of the Sicilian μάγειροι that were most famous.

Greeks on other islands, also, were well known as μάγειροι. Athenaeus (i, 25*e, f*) informs us that the Chians were noted in this line:

“Ὡς ἀνακίπτειν τὰς Σικελικὰς καὶ Συβαριτικὰς [καὶ Ἰταλικὰς] τραπέζας, ἥδη δὲ καὶ Χίως. μαρτυροῦνται γὰρ καὶ Χῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν προειρημένων ἐπὶ ὀψαρτυτικῇ. Τιμοκλῆς·

Χῖοι πολὺ

ἄριστ' ἀνευρήκασιν ὀψαρτυτικὴν.

And so in Baton (M. IV, 501; K. III, 327) a Chian writer on the art is mentioned, while Euphron (M. IV, 486; K. III, 317) numbers a Chian (vs. 6) and a Rhodian (vs. 5) among the seven sages in the art of former times. Another Rhodian is mentioned by Anaxippus (M. IV, 459; K. III, 296) who was an innovator in introducing certain condiments that eventually resulted in his own death (vs. 17).

Many separate dishes were introduced among the Greeks from foreign countries. So we read in Machon (M. IV, 496; K. III, 324) of a dish which the Macedonians apparently brought into Attica. And Lydian dishes, such as the *candaulus* (M. III, 284; K. II, 224), are frequently mentioned and discussed in Athenaeus. We shall see in a later chapter (pp. 86 ff.) how each μάγειρος of any note had his own particular dish on which he prided himself.

¹ Cf. play of same title by Diphilus, M. IV, 409; K. II, 564, and see M. I, 456

CHAPTER V

RESORT OF THE ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ

As will presently be made clear, *μάγειροι* were hired for special occasions of various kinds. On this account it was quite necessary that there should be a particular resort where they might be found whenever their services were desired. That there was in reality a place where these professional *μάγειροι* had their headquarters is demonstrated in a fragment of Diphilus (M. IV, 394; K. II, 553). Here a *μάγειρος* in conversation with a *τραπεζοποιός* states the principles upon which he conducts his profession, with particular reference to the persons to whom he hires. In this connection, however, the following verses (28–33) are of most interest to us:

Ἄπο συμβολῶν συνάγοντα νῆ Δί' ἔτερά που
ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸν κέραμον ἐνευρημένα,
τὰ κράσπεδ' ἀποθλιβέντα καὶ κεκραγότα.
"Ὅφάριον ἀγοραῖον ποιεῖν τίς βούλεται,"
ἐὼ βοᾷν· πληγὰς γὰρ ἔτι προσλαμβάνειν
ἐλθόντα καὶ τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην διακονεῖν.

The young sports¹ of that time knew, therefore, that these professional *μάγειροι* could be found in the pottery market.² It was hither, also, that the parasites betook themselves to learn who was to hire a *μάγειρος* for an entertainment, as

¹"Adolescentes pauperculi et ad summam inopiam redacti," as the learned Meineke would explain this reference (*Præf. Menand.*, p. xvii), are not the persons, it seems to me, to whom allusion is here made. In the first place, the offers of such persons would not be considered by *μάγειροι*. And, again, such treatment as here depicted would not be endured at any time, if the professional *μάγειροι* knew their pay would surely not be forthcoming at the proper time.

²It is scarcely necessary to comment on the fact that *κέραμος* is used here of the place in which pottery was sold. Examples of such usage are far too numerous to require citation.

Alexis states in a fragment preserved from his *Fugitive* (M. III, 501; K. II, 391):

Ἀεὶ γ' ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τιν' εὕρίσκει τέχνην·
καὶ νῦν πορίζεται γε τὰ δειπν' ἀσύμβολα.
ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κέραμος μισθώσιμος
ὁ τοῖς μαγείροις, εὐθὺς ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ
ἔστηκεν ἐλθὼν· καὶ ἴδη μισθούμενον
εἰς ἐστίασιν, τοῦ μαγείρου πυθόμενος
τὸν ἐστιῶντα, τῆς θύρας χασμωμένης
ἂν ἐπιλάβηται, πρῶτος εἰσελήλυθεν.

Athenaeus, furthermore, says (vi, 229c) that such wares as would be bought in the pottery market were used at feasts up to the Macedonian times. Hence it was a convenient and suitable place for the congregating of μάγειροι, as indicated in the comic fragment just quoted. It was doubtless here that the scene described by Posidippus (M. IV, 513; K. III, 335) took place in connection with the hiring of a μάγειρος.¹ As Meineke (IV, 559) has pointed out, the conversation depicted in a fragment of Athenio also took place *in ea fori parte . . . ubi coquorum statio erat*.

In the Posidippus fragment, in particular, we see that there was sometimes eager and spirited rivalry between μάγειροι here assembled upon the occasion of some employer's seeking their services.

It remains for us to decide whether there was but the one place in the market where these μάγειροι might be expected to be in waiting to be employed. According to Pollux (*Onom.* ix, 48), there were certain places called μαγειρεῖα where μάγειροι were hired:

Εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ μαγειρεῖα τῶν πόλεως μερῶν, οὐχ ἥπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς τέχναις ἐργαστηρίων, ἀλλ' ὁ τόπος ὅθεν μισθοῦνται τοὺς μαγείρους, ὡς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Στρατιώτῃ ὑποδηλοῦν ἔοικεν·

Ἐκ τῶν μαγειρείων βαδίζων, ἐμβαλὼν
εἰς τοῦτον.

¹ See p. 78, where the fragment is quoted.

It is noteworthy also that Pollux quotes a writer of the New Comedy on the use of this word. His words clearly signify that the *μαγειρεία* were distinct parts of the city, though not in the same way in which the other shops of the various professions and trades were, because of the very fact that *μάγειροι* were hired at these places. The meaning of *τοῦψον* in the Antiphanes passage is clear.¹ A passage in Theophrastus (*Charakt.* 6), where he speaks of the abandoned man, will assist us in understanding what is meant by *μαγειρεία*. This character is spoken of as

Οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζων . . . ἐφοδεύειν τὰ μαγειρεία, τὰ ἰχθυοπώλια, τὰ ταριχοπώλια, καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπολήματος εἰς τὴν γνάθον ἐκλέγειν.

Here τὰ *μαγειρεία* are evidently butchers' stalls,² which we know to have been in the market-place.³ That some *μάγειροι*, at least, followed the trade of butchers will presently be seen.⁴ It is quite conceivable, then, that such places might become the headquarters, as it were, of other *μάγειροι* who were mostly employed for special occasions. And in this respect these *μαγειρεία* would not be parts of the city in the same sense in which were the shops that pertained to other arts and trades, as Pollux says. We may then readily explain the short fragment quoted from Antiphanes by supposing that a scene in the market is depicted, of which these words give us a hint. The host of some occasion hurried into the market to the rendezvous of the *μάγειροι* to secure the services of one of their number, and then in precipitate haste (*ἐμβαλὼν*) went on to purchase viands (particularly dainties in the way of fish) for the dinner or feast. I cannot agree with Meineke,

¹ Cf. Schol. ad Aesch., *Timarch.*, § 65: Τοῦψον: ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ, ἐνθα τὰ ὄψα, οἰοῦναι πάντα τὰ εἰδέσματα πιπράσκειται. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πιπρασκομένων ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τόπον. (Compare also the use of *κέραμος* in a similar way, as noted above.

² R. Meister (in *Theophrasti Charaktere*, herausg. erkl. u. übers. von d. philol. Gesellsch. zu Leipzig, 1897, p. 56) translates the word "Garküchen."

³ Cf. Machon, in *Ath.* xiii, 580c; Artemidor., *Oneirocr.* iii, 56 (187).

⁴ See pp. 64 ff.

therefore, when he says (*Praef. Menand.*, p. xvii) that the *κέραμος* and *μαγειρείον* were identical in this respect.¹

It may be further noted that this word *μαγειρείον*² is used of a kitchen, without regard to its position, in these passages: Aristotle, *De animal. hist.*, i, 43, 629a, 33; *De mirab. auscultat.*, 35, 833a, 3; Schol. Arist., *Vesp.* 936. The word may apply equally well to a butcher's shop or a kitchen in the fable of a dog that steals the meat from a *μαγειρείον*; cf. Aesop 232 (Halm), Babrius 79 (Rutherford). Nor do I think it necessary to interpret the word as used of a confectioner's shop in *De sublimitate*, xliii, 3, where the word is so translated by Roberts. Customs had changed greatly by the third century of our era, and the articles mentioned might very well be in a kitchen of that time.

The ordinary word for "kitchen," however, appears to have been *ὀπτάνιον*, which Pollux (*Onom.* vi, 13, and i, 80) equates with *μαγειρείον*. We may compare on the usage of this word, fragments of Nicomachus (M. IV, 583; K. III, 386; vs. 25), Alexis (M. III, 464; K. II, 361; vs. 13), and Philemon (M. IV, 18; K. II, 493). In a fragment of Hegesippus (M. IV, 479; K. III, 312) such an *ὀπτάνιον* is compared by a *μάγειρος* to the abode of the Sirens, past which none could go in safety (vss. 19 ff.).

Finally, may be mentioned the word *ἐφθοπώλιον* used by Posidippus, according to Athenaeus (iii, 94c), of a place where cooked meats were sold. But we have no knowledge of a *μάγειρος* presiding over it.

¹ Cf. Bekker (Göll), *Charikles*, II, 207, where it is suggested that the two were different, but satisfactory proofs are not adduced.

² As regards the word itself, compare Lobeck, *Phryn.* 276; Rutherford, *New Phryn.* 341; Herodian., i, 375, 27 (Lents), etc.; Thom. Mag. 236, 14; Cramer, *Anecd.* II, p. 308, l. 28. Other passages are cited by Lobeck.

CHAPTER VI

STATE SUPERVISION OF THE ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ

From a fragment of Menander (M. IV, 147; K. III, 78) we learn that the μάγειροι were required to register with certain officials called Γυναικονόμοι.¹ This was doubtless done in order that the officials might ascertain from the μάγειροι the number of guests invited to the entertainments at which the latter served, and might gain other information about matters over which these public officials had supervision at marriages and similar festal occasions. Menander's words on the subject are as follows:

Παρά τοῖς Γυναικονόμοις δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γάμοις
διακονοῦντας ἀπογεγράφθαι πυθόμενος
πάντας μαγείρους κατὰ νόμον καινόν τινα,
ἵνα πυνθάνωνται τοὺς κεκλημένους ἐὰν
πλείους τις ὢν ἔξεστιν ἐστῶν τύχη,
ἐλθῶν

Athenaeus (vi, 245a) tells a story of a wedding-feast at which these officials were present and took the number of the invited guests. From this it appears that thirty was the number allowed.

And so Porson (*Miscell.*, p. 247) rightly explains² a passage from Baton (M. IV, 501; K. III, 327) in which a μάγειρος says:

Εὖ γ', ὦ Σιβήνη, τὰς νίκτας οὐ καθεύδομεν,
οὐδ' ἀναγεγράμμεθ', ἀλλὰ κάεται λύχνος, etc.

¹ From Aristotle, *Pol.* 4, 15 (1299a, 22; 1300a, 4), it is seen that these were regular officials in his time. Cf. Casaubon, *Animadv. in Athen.*, p. 271.

² "Nomina nostra non publicis tabulis in foro et similibus locis inscripta sunt, sicut aliorum coquorum," is Porson's explanation of vs. 2.

This *μάγειρος* and his friends in the profession were not yet registered with the officials, perhaps because they had not passed the state of apprenticeship in the art, since they were still studying the masters.

Nicomachus also appears to me to refer to the register kept of *μάγειροι*, and even to a record of their standing in the profession. In this fragment (M. IV, 583; K. III, 386) a *μάγειρος* speaks as follows (vss. 1-5):

Ὑποδεικνύεις μὲν ἥθος ἀστέϊον πάνν
καὶ πρῶτον, ὀλίγων δὲ πεποιήκας τι. B. Πῶς;
A. ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ τίνες ἐσμὲν οὐκ ἐξήτακας.
ἡ πρότερον ἐπύθου τῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων
οὕτω τ' ἐμισθώσω με; B. μὰ Δί' ἐγὼ μὲν οὔ.

The words τῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων apparently refer to these officials, who kept a record of *μάγειροι* and their attainments in the art. The *μάγειρος* here expresses his contempt (vss. 6 ff.) for an employer who does not know that there are various degrees of excellency of accomplishments among members of his profession.

It is very evident, therefore, that the officials mentioned above had a certain superintendence and jurisdiction over the professional *μάγειροι*, and an employer would do well to consult them before deciding upon the merits of the various *μάγειροι* whom he might encounter in the market-place when in search of the services of one of their number.

CHAPTER VII

OCCASIONS FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ

I

(α) *At dinners, banquets, etc.*—Professional μάγειροι were naturally often employed for the preparation of feasts and great dinners and the like. The ordinary house slaves up to Alexandrian times were not able to meet the requirements of the occasion. And so we have already seen (p. 43) in a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 501; K. II, 391) how a μάγειρος was hired in the Ceramus *εἰς ἐστίασιν*. In a long fragment of Mnesimachus (M. III, 568; K. II, 437) we likewise have an account of a banquet of immense proportions to which the invited guests have failed to come at the appointed time. The host accordingly sends word to them that the μάγειρος should not be thus treated (vss. 25 ff.):

Ἦκειν ἤδη καὶ μὴ μέλλειν
τῷ τε μαγείρῳ μὴ λυμαίνεσθ',
ὥς τῶν ὀψων ἐφθῶν ὄντων, etc.

And even in later times the feast described by Matron in his Ἀπτικὸν Δεῖπνον (in Ath. iv, 134*d*) was marked by the conspicuous presence of the μάγειροι. Compare vss. 11, 46, 96.

But at the great state festivals the services of the μάγειροι were especially in demand. A very good example of their being thus employed is found in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. It is the second day of the feast of the Anthesteria (vss. 1000–1002, where the herald speaks), and Dicaeopolis, the prominent rustic citizen, is giving his orders for the preparation of the feast. The chorus replies to his words as follows (vss. 1003–17):

- Δι. ὦ παῖδες, ὦ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἠκούσατε;
τί δράτε; τοῦ κήρυκος οὐκ ἀκούετε;
ἀναβράττετ', ἐξοπτᾶτε, τρέπετ', ἀφέλκετε
τὰ λυγρὰ ταχέως, τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνείρετε.
φέρε τοὺς ὀβελίσκους, ἵν' ἀναπείρω τὰς κίχλας.
- Χο. ζῆλῳ σε τῆς εὐβουλίας,
μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς εὐωχίας,
ἄνθρωπε, τῆς παρούσης.
- Δι. τί δῆτ', ἐπειδὴν τὰς κίχλας ὀπτωμένας ἴδῃτε;
Χο. οἶμαί σε καὶ τοῦτ' εὖ λέγειν. Δι. τὸ πῦρ ὑποσκάλενε.
Χο. ἤκουσας ὡς μαγειρικῶς
κομφῶς τε καὶ δειπνητικῶς
αὐτῷ διακονεῖται;

Although the old man serves himself in this instance, he is nevertheless praised for doing it *μαγειρικῶς κομφῶς τε καὶ δειπνητικῶς*; so that we are warranted in the supposition that this was the most approved style at such a feast.¹ At the religious festivals of the Delians also, we learn from Athenaeus (iv, 172f), the *μάγειροι* and *τραπεζοποιοί* were furnished for such occasions.² Among the Lacedaemonians, moreover, according to Molpis (in Ath. iv, 141e) the *μάγειρος* played an important part at certain feasts and announced the contributions made to the *φιδίτια*.³

For great dinners, too, among the Greeks professional *μάγειροι* were hired. A *μάγειρος* who had *πεῖραν*—*πολυτελῶν πολλῶν τε δείπνων*, as mentioned by Dionysius (M. III, 547; K. II, 423; vss. 37 f.),⁴ would consequently be much sought after. Such a master of the art would doubtless follow the independent course of action suggested by a *μάγειρος* in a

¹ Cf. p. 57. The orders are continued, vss. 1040-47.

² The results of my study of passages relating to *τραπεζοποιοί* will be published later.

³ Cf. Stein on Herod. vi, 80, and see pp. 23 f.

⁴ In this passage it is not necessary to refer these words of the *μάγειρος* to one of the expected guests. It seems to me quite as likely that there may here be a contrast between the *μάγειρος ὁ πολιτικός* and ὁ ἐκτός. The foreign *μάγειρος* is perhaps expected to aid in the preparation of the feast.

fragment of Diphilus (M. IV, 394; K. II, 553), who here converses with a *τραπεζοποιός* and says (vss. 4-6):

Οὐ γάρ βαδίζω πρότερον ἂν μὴ δοκιμάσω
τίς ἐσθ' ὁ θύων, ἢ πόθεν συνίσταται
τό δαῖπνον, ἢ κέκληκεν ἀνθρώπους τίνας.

In a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 465; K. II, 362) a *μάγειρος* censures the master of the house for not having provided articles necessary for the *δεῖπνον*. Babrius (42, Rutherford) mentions a *μάγειρος* who was to prepare a *δεῖπνον*—*λαμπρόν*. Such *μάγειροι* would be hired by the young sports of the time, and a man like Alcibiades must have been a good mark for men of this calling, as a passage in Plutarch (*Alciḃ.* 203 B) seems to indicate. The Spartans were surprised that he could endure their coarse fare at all. Indeed, the custom of employing *μάγειροι* for these banquets was so in vogue as to call forth these words recorded by Diogenes Laertius (ii, 72): 'Ονειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι δίκην ἔχων ἐμισθώσατο ῥήτορα, "Καὶ γάρ," ἔφη, "ὅταν δεῖπνον ἔχω, μάγειρον μισθοῦμαι." Yet a *μάγειρος* had to look well to his reputation, as we may conclude from a fragment of Archedicus (M. IV, 435; K. III, 276), where a *μάγειρος* says (vss. 11, 12):

Ἐλαδίου κοτύλης τε παραλαωμένης
σέσωκ' ἐμοὶ τρίκλινα πεντήκοντ' ἴσως.

His future success depended on his present ingenuity. Alexis (M. III, 389; K. II, 301) gives an account rendered by a *μάγειρος* for the articles of food used at a fish dinner.

It was perhaps not uncommon for a *μάγειρος* to serve at a dinner got up by contributions, though some of their profession exercised precaution about those to whom they hired in such cases, as we have already seen from a fragment of Diphilus (M. IV, 394; K. II, 553).¹ Athenaeus (x, 420e)

¹ See p. 42 and n. 1. Compare the fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 486; K. III, 317) in which one of the masters in the art of the *μάγειρος* is represented as distinguished because of his ways and means for those getting up dinners by contributions: 'Ἄνδ' συμβολῶν συνάγουσιν Ἀρίστων πόρους. See p. 31, n. 3.

depicts the treatment of the μάγειρος in his day by those who gave dinners in this manner: Οἱ δὲ νῦν συνάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βοῶσι, κεκράγασι, βλασφημοῦσι τὸν οἰνοχόον, τὸν διάκονον, τὸν μάγειρον. Certain proof of μάγειροι being used for club dinners is discovered in a fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 492; K. III, 322).¹ Here a μάγειρος warns his pupil against carrying his trickery to excess (vss. 1, 2):

Ὅταν ἱρανισταῖς,² Καρίων, διακονῇς,
οὐκ ἔστι παίζειν, οὐδ' ἂ μεμάθηκας ποιεῖν.³

From a fragment of Antiphanes (M. III, 144; K. II, 126) it would seem that μάγειροι sometimes prepared the ἄριστον also. But the evidence is too scanty to be relied upon to establish the point.

The skilled μάγειρος was not always careful about the place where he was employed, however, provided the pay was to be sufficient. So we read in Diphilus (M. IV, 394; K. II, 553) of a μάγειρος who is to go to a brothel where the Adonia is being celebrated, as these verses (38-41) show:⁴

Οὐ δὲ νῦν σ' ἄγω,
πορνεῖόν ἐστι, πολυτελῶς Ἀδώνια
ἄγουσ' ἑταῖρα μεθ' ἑτέρων πορνῶν· χυδην
στυγερὸν ἀποσάξεις τόν τε κόλπον ἀποτρέχων.

And again, Athenaeus quotes (xiii, 579e) from Machon concerning *hetaerae*, and we see that a certain Diphilus (vs. 5) was among the guests at the dinner of Gnathaena

¹ Such a μάγειρος may be the one who laments his fate in Archedicius (M. IV, 436; K. III, 277). See Meineke's notes on this fragment.

² Cf. Arist., *Frcta.* 408 (Hall and Geldart).

³ Meineke, following Casaubon's explanation of this passage, seems to me to be in error. The young μάγειρος is not to practice his tricks on ἱρανισταί, exactly because they are good for their pay; whereas he is to do his utmost to outwit the rich old fellow whose pay is nevertheless small.

⁴ Possibly a μάγειρος was employed in a like place in the play of Ephippus from which a fragment (M. III, 338; K. II, 282) has been quoted above (p. 40). For Athenaeus (vii, 286e) says: Ἐφίππου δ' ὁ κωμικοποιὸς ἐν Φιλύρας δράματι (ἑταῖρας δ' ὄνομα ἢ Φιλύρα).

and took along a μάγειρος (vs. 11) as part of his contribution to the Aphrodisia. This may be a picture of later times.

(b) *At marriages*.—Among the Greeks, as with us today, a marriage was the occasion for great festivities. And at the feast which accompanied every notable marriage there was need in early times of the services of the professional μάγειρος.¹ Athenaeus (xiv, 659d) says they had charge of such feasts:

Οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν παράδοξον εἰ καὶ θνητῆς ἦσαν ἔμπειροι οἱ παλαιότεροι μάγειροι· προϊστάντο γοῦν καὶ γάμων καὶ θυσίων.

We have already seen (pp. 46 f.) that μάγειροι were required to register with the Gynaecomoi, who had supervision over the number of guests at wedding-feasts. This was, partly at least, because these μάγειροι were usually employed at such times, and could therefore furnish desired information to the officials. An early proof of the hiring of μάγειροι for weddings is found in the *Aves* of Aristophanes. The preparations for the feast begin with vs. 1579–90, but are interrupted by the arrival of the ambassadors from the gods. A μάγειρος is here represented as cooking the delicacies for the feast, as we see from vs. 1637: Μάγειρε, τὸ κατάχυσμα χρὴ ποιεῖν γλυκύ. Fortunate it was that a μάγειρος was present, for it turns out to be a wedding-feast in the end. Verses 1688–93 are to be noted in this connection:

- Πι. Ἐς καιρὸν ἄρα κατεκόπησαν οὐταὶ
εἰς τοὺς γάμους. Ηρ. Βούλεσθε δῆτ' ἐγὼ τέως
ὀπτῶ τὰ κρέα ταυτὶ μένων; ὑμεῖς δ' ἴτε.
Πο. Ὅπτᾶς τὰ κρέα; πολλήν γε τενθείαν λέγεις.
οὐκ εἰ μεθ' ἡμῶν; Ηρ. Εὖ γε μέντ' ἀν διετίθην.
Πι. Ἀλλὰ γαμικὴν χλανίδα δότω τις δευρό μοι.

¹ The δημιουργός (ἡ) was also employed at wedding feasts, but her functions differed from those of the μάγειρος. The results of my study of the material collected on this subject will be published later. Cf. Menander in Ath. iv, 172a (M. IV, 222; K. III, 148), where a scene in the culinary department at a marriage feast is probably portrayed.

Posidippus also gives us a picture (M. IV, 521; K. III, 342) of μάγειροι hired for a *convivium nuptiale*. A μάγειρος is here addressing his assistants, and thus describes the work that is before them (vss. 19–24):

Διακονοῦμεν νῦν γάμους. τὸ θῦμα βοῦς,
ὁ διδοὺς ἐπιφανής, ἐπιφανής ὁ λαμβάνων.
τούτων γυναῖκες ἰέρεαι τῇ θεᾷ θεοί,
κορύβαντες, αἰλοί, παννυχίδες, ἀναστροφή·
ἱππόδρομος οὗτός ἐστί σοι μαγειρικῆς.
μέμνησο καὶ σὺ τοῦτο.

The wedding was to be a distinguished one, the μάγειρος was to do his full duty. In a fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 492; K. III, 322), also, a μάγειρος gives directions to his pupil regarding his actions at various functions. The pupil is to accompany his master to make ready a marriage feast, and these are the directions given by the elder μάγειρος (vss. 9–16):

[Δεῖ δὲ . . . εἶναι] Οὗ δὲ νῦν βαδίζομεν,
εἰς τοὺς γάμους, ἀνδροφόνον. ἂν τοῦτ' αἰσθάνῃ,
ἐμὸς εἰ μαθητῆς καὶ μάγειρος οὐ κακός.
ὁ καιρὸς εὐκτός· ὠφελοῦ. φιλάργυρος
ὁ γέρων, ὁ μισθὸς μικρός. εἴ σε λήψομαι
νῦν μὴ κατεσθίοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρακας,
ἀπόλωλας. εἴσω πάραγε. καὶ γὰρ οὔτοσὶ
προσέρχεθ' ὁ γέρων. ὥς δὲ καὶ γλίσχρον βλέπει.

The familiarity of a μάγειρος with weddings is evinced in a fragment of Hegesippus (M. IV, 479; K. III, 312) by a comparison he uses (vss. 15–16):

Τοιοῦτος ἐνδοθέν τις ἐν τῷ σώματι
διέδραμε γαργαλισμὸς ὡς ὄντων γάμων.

That μάγειροι continued to have charge of nuptial feasts in the time of Artemidorus (the second century A. D.) is evident from a passage in his *Oneirocriticon* (III, 56 Hercher):

Μάγειρος ὁ μὲν κατ' οἶκον ἀγαθὸς ὁρώμενος τοῖς γῆμαι προηρημένους· δέει γὰρ ἐν γάμοις μαγεῖρον. καὶ τοῖς πένησιν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκτενεῖς τροφὰς ἔχοντες μαγεῖρον χρῶνται.

This passage furthermore goes to prove that even at this time there were professional μάγειροι as well as in earlier times.

(c) *At funerals.*—At funeral feasts, too, the μάγειρος was in demand among the Greeks. A μάγειρος of most perfect type, according to his own professions, narrates his experiences at such a feast in a fragment of Hegesippus (M. IV, 479; K. III. 312; vss. 10–16):

Τὸ πέρασ σοι λέγω·
ὅταν ἐν περιδείπνῃ τυγχάνω διακονῶν,
ἐπὰν τάχιστ' ἔλθωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς,
τὰ βάπτ' ἔχοντες, τοῦπίθημα τῆς χύτρας
ἀφελὼν ἐποίησα τοὺς δακρύνοντας γελᾶν.
τοιούτος ἐνδοθέν τις ἐν τῷ σώματι
διέδραμε γαργαλισμὸς ὡς ὄντων γάμων.

Another reference to a περιδείπνον in Comedy is made by Anaxippus (M. IV, 459; K. III, 296), where a μάγειρος in discussing the tastes of various classes of people says (vss. 40–42):

[παρίθηκα, vs. 38]
Τελώνη γλαῦκον, ἔγγελυν, σπάρων·
ὅταν ἐγγὺς ᾗ δ' ὁδ' ὕστερος, ἀρτύω φακῆν,
καὶ τὸ περιδείπνον τοῦ βίου λαμπρὸν ποιῶ.

Here, however, the word περιδείπνον is not used in a strictly literal sense, as Meineke has pointed out, but of a feast *before death*. I cannot agree, however, with Meineke in accepting Dobree's ingenious emendation, nor do I think it necessary to emend to such a reading as that proposed by Kock. The true explanation of the passage is nearer at hand if we keep as nearly as possible to the text as transmitted to us. The manifest joke in the passage is then with

reference to the τελώνης, for, says the comic poet, whenever he is around there is likely to be a death as the result of his visit to somebody. For all such victims, therefore, the μάγειρος says he prepares a funeral feast in advance in anticipation of the fate they are sure to meet at the hands of the tax collector. But the function of the μάγειρος at such a feast is none the less apparent on account of the joke.

(d) *At sacrifices*.—Abundant evidence is afforded us not only in Greek literature, but by inscriptions as well which shows that a chief function of the μάγειροι was in connection with the performance of sacrifices, both private and public.¹ Again let us notice a statement of Athenaeus (xiv, 659d) which has been previously quoted:

Οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν παράδοξον εἰ καὶ θντικῆς ἦσαν ἔμπειροι οἱ παλαίτεροι μάγειροι· προίσταντο γοῦν καὶ γάμων καὶ θυσίων.

In another place (xiv, 660a) the same author quotes Cleidemus to show the honorable position to which μάγειροι sometimes attained in this occupation:²

Ὅτι δὲ σεμνὸν ἦν ἡ μαγειρικὴ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Κηρύκων· οἶδε γὰρ μαγείρων καὶ βουτύπων ἐπεῖχον τάξιν, ὥς φησιν Κλείδημος ἐν Πρωτογονίας πρώτῃ. Ὅμηρός τε τὸ ρέζειν ἐπὶ τοῦ θύειν τάσσει, τὸ δὲ θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ ψαιστὰ μεταδόρπια θυμῶν· καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ θύειν δρᾶν ὠνόμαζον. ἔδρων δ' οἱ Κήρυκες ἄχρι πολλοῦ βουθυτοῦντες, φησί, καὶ σκευάζοντες καὶ μιστύλλοντες, ἔτι δ' οἰνοχοοῦντες. Κήρυκας δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ὠνόμαζον. ἀναγέγραπται τε οὐδαμοῦ μαγείρῳ μισθός, ἀλλὰ Κήρυκι.

¹ The δημιουργός, "confectionery woman," was also employed at certain sacrifices where sacrificial cakes were used. Cf. Pollux iii, 41.

² This passage has been much discussed. Cf. Schweighäuser, *Animadv. in Ath.* VII, 666 ff., where Casaubon's view is quoted; also note on Ath. vi, 234 f., in *Animadv.* III, p. 357. The origin of the name Kerykes is there explained, and citations are given to Greek literature on the subject. See also Dittenberger in *Hermes*, XX (1885), pp. 29 f.; Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.*, pp. 91 and 151 f.; Petersen in *Zeitschr. f. Alterth.*, 1853, p. 49. Compare Stengel, *Gr. Kultusalt.*, p. 46.—It is hardly to be doubted that these Kerykes were not the ordinary *praecones*, but *sacrorum ministri*, as noted by Casaubon. But it is not my intention to discuss in this place the various relations of this class of officials.

And again Cleidemus is quoted by Athenaeus on the same subject in two other passages:

κ, 425e, Κλειδῆμος δὲ τοὺς μαγείρους Κήρυκάς φησι καλεῖσθαι, and xiv, 660d, Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἀτθίδος Κλειδῆμος φύλον ἀποφαίνει μαγείρων ἔχόντων δημιουργικὰς τιμὰς, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνεργεῖν ἔργον ἦν.¹

From these passages it seems clear that the μάγειροι were in early times connected in some way with the special class of Kerykes, who were among the chief functionaries of the Eleusinian Mysteries and performed such duties as are indicated above. The opinion of Dittenberger (*loc. cit.*) and Toepffer (*loc. cit.*) that these Kerykes had certain functions of μάγειροι in early times (as proved by citations of Athenaeus from Homer) and hence the duties of the μάγειροι in this capacity allied them with the Kerykes, as stated by Cleidemus, appears to me to be correct. Toepffer would further identify with these same μάγειροι the δαιτροί mentioned by Porphyrio (*De abst.* ii, 30); but his arguments are insufficient to my mind.² At all events, we may safely conclude that the μάγειροι were in early times associated with the honorable class of the Kerykes in their duties as sacrificers for certain religious organizations.

As early as the time of Euripides (485–405 B. C.) the μάγειρος was a familiar personage in this official capacity of sacrificer, as seen from a passage in the *Cyclops* (396–406). Here the Cyclops is called (vs. 396) τῷ θεοστνυγῇ Αἴδου μαγείρῳ because of the killing of human victims at his hands. In this sense he is a μάγειρος Αἴδου. This function of the μάγειρος is made even more evident in a passage in the *Pax* of Aristophanes (948–1061), where we have a splendid illus-

¹ Cf. p. 23, n. 3.

² Toepffer's arguments that this is so are based mainly on the fact that lexicographers define δαιτρός by μάγειρος. But at a later time it is my purpose to show that δαιτρός was very rarely used after Homeric times, and therefore the lexicographers used the later and more familiar word to define δαιτροί. Petersen (*Zeitschr. f. Altertum.*, 1853, p. 49) would also connect the μάγειροι with the δαιτροί.

tration of a sacrificial scene. But two verses have direct bearing on the μάγειρος as sacrificer. In these verses (1017, 1018) Trygaeus is thus addressed: *Λάβε τὴν μάχαιραν· εἴθ' ὅπως μαγειρικῶς | σφάξεις τὸν οἶν.* The proper way to perform a sacrifice, therefore, was as the skilled μάγειρος would do.

A striking example of a sacrifice by a μάγειρος is found in a fragment of Menander, quoted by Athenaeus (xiv, 659d):

Διόπερ Μένανδρος ἐν Κόλακι τὸν τοῖς τετραδισταῖς διακονούμενον μάγειρον ἐν τῇ τῆς Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης ἑορτῇ ποιεῖ ταυτὶ λέγοντα·

*Σπονδῇ. δίδου σὺ σπλάγχν' ἀκολουθῶν· ποῖ βλέπεις;
σπονδῇ. φέρ', ὦ παῖ Σωσία. σπονδῇ. καλῶς.
ἔγχει. θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις εὐχόμεθα
Ὀλυμπίαισι, πᾶσι πάσαις· λάμβανε
τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τούτῳ. δίδόναι σωτηρίαν,
ὕγιαν, ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων τε νῦν
ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν πᾶσι· ταῦτ' εὐχόμεθα.*

This μάγειρος is plainly represented as employed at the festival of Aphrodite Pandemus, aided by his assistants in the performance of the sacrifice. Another such μάγειρος seems to have been mentioned in Simonides (frg. 24, B⁴), according to Athenaeus (xiv, 659e):

Καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδῃ δέ φησιν ἕτερος [μάγειρος]·

**Ὦν ὡς ἄφενσα χῶς ἐμίστυλα κρέα
ἱρωστί· καὶ γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἐπίσταμαι.*

Athenaeus (xiv, 659f) further cites as proof of the skill of the μάγειροι in sacrifices the letter of Olympias to her son Alexander:

Ἐμφαίνει δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπιστολή. προτρεπομένη μάγειρον αὐτῇ πρίασθαι θυσιῶν ἐμπειρον ἢ μήτηρ φησί. "Πελίγναν τὸν μάγειρον λαβεῖ παρὰ τῆς μητρός. οὗτος γὰρ οἶδε τὰ ἱερά σου τὰ πατρῶα πάντα ὅν τρόπον θύεται καὶ τὰ ἀργαδιστικά [ὀργαστικά?] καὶ τὰ βακχικά, ὅσα τε Ὀλυμπιάς προθύεται οὗτος οἶδεν. μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης, ἀλλὰ λαβέ· καὶ ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἐμὲ τὴν ταχίστην."

Here we have a μάγειρος, then, who was skilled in all the ancestral sacrifices of the house and in those of other religious rites as well. Among the Arcadians, moreover, μάγειροι were provided, apparently for sacrifices, by the state on certain occasions. Athenaeus (iv, 148f) is again our authority:

Ἀρμόδιος δὲ ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλειαν Νομίμων “Ὁ κατασταθείς,” φησι, “παρὰ Φιγαλεῦσι σίταρχος ἔφερε τῆς ἡμέρας οἶνον τρεῖς χόας καὶ ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον καὶ τυροῦ πεντάμνον καὶ τὰλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρτυσιν τῶν ἱερείων ἀρμόττοντα. ἡ δὲ πόλις παρέιχεν ἑκατέρῃ τῶν χορῶν τρία πρόβατα καὶ μάγειρον ὑδριαφόρον τε καὶ τραπέζας καὶ βάθρα πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἅπασαν παρασκευήν. τὴν δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν μάγειρον σκευῶν¹ ὁ χορηγός.”

The passage in Herodotus (vi, 60) already cited (pp. 23 f.) doubtless refers to the μάγειροι in their official capacity, as observed by Stein. Plutarch (*De tuend. san.*, 128c) seems to make reference to such functionaries among the Lacedaemonians in this comparison:

Καὶ καθάπερ οἱ Λάκωνες ὄξος καὶ ἄλας διδόντες τῷ μαγείρῳ τὰ λοιπὰ κελεύουσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερείῳ ζητεῖν, οὕτως ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ προσφερομένου τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων ἐστίν, ἅπερ ὑγαίνονται καὶ καθαρῶ προσφέρηται.

Finally may be mentioned, in passing, two of Aesop's fables² in which the ox and the sheep are represented as expressing their preference in favor of being sacrificed by the skilled μάγειρος, if such must be their end. The following passages complete the list of references to μάγειροι in this capacity in Greek literature, so far as I have been able to discover them: Plut., *Moral.* 1102 B and 696 E; Artem., *Oneirocrit.* i, 61; Callim., *Dem.* (vi), 106, 107.

But not only does Greek literature give proofs of the fact that μάγειροι were commonly employed in public sacrifices, but there is abundant inscriptional evidence to show that μάγειροι were thus occupied, in particular, in connection with

¹ Cf. Pollux x, 97, on such σκεύη.

² Cf. Aesop, 80 (Halm); Babrius, 51 (Rutherford).

certain religious organizations. Yet the duties of the μάγειρος were doubtless not the same in every case. Sometimes he was perhaps the main sacrificer under the priest in charge. Again, he might be merely an assistant (especially where an ἀρχιμάγειρος is mentioned), or might be employed simply to prepare the feast that followed the sacrifice. One of the oldest of such inscriptions in which a μάγειρος is mentioned is in Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscr. Gr.*,² 140, where (l. 16) we find τῶι μαγίρῳ τρία ἡμωβέλια. This inscription is an account of moneys paid out for repairs to the temple at Delphi after an earthquake that occurred about the year 373 B. C. Dittenberger thinks the μάγειρος was here hired as cook for the ναοποιοί. In another inscription, of the last half of the third century or the beginning of the second century B. C. (Ditt., *Syll.*² 615, 11 ff.), are specified the parts of the sacrifice which the μάγειρος is to receive along with certain other perquisites:

Τῇι αὐτῇι ἡμέραι Δήμητρι Χλόηι ὕες | δύο καλλιστεύουσαι, ἡ ἐτέρα ἐγκύμ[ων·] νῶτογ κόπτετα[ι] | τῆς ἐγκύμονος· τὰς ὕς β[ουλ]ῇ κ[ρινέ]τ[ω·] μ[αγίρῳ]ι ἄρχοντες | διδόντων ὅσφιν καὶ κωλῆν τῆς ὕς τῆς ἐτέρης, ἀλφίτω[ν] || δύο χοίνικας, ὄνου τρεῖς κοτύλ[α]ς.

An Attic inscription of the fourth century B. C. (Ditt., *Syll.*² 634, ll. 25 ff.; *C. I. A.* II, 1, 163, 26ff.) includes among the expenses relating to the Panathenaea those εἰς τὸ μαγειρικόν. This is probably for the feast after the sacrifices, however, as may be inferred from the mention of ἱεροποιοί in the same inscription. An inscription from Troezen (in *B. C. H.* XVII, 1893, 120f) mentions a μάγειρος and διάκονος, where the μάγειρος may have simply prepared the feast following the sacrifice, as E. Legrand suggests. From Sparta comes an inscription (in *B. C. H.* IX, 1885, p. 513) that mentions a μάγειρος in connection with several other functionaries of a religious association. But the most comprehensive list of such religious officials and ministers is discovered in the

inscription in Lebas-Foucart, *Inscr. du Péloponnèse*, No. 163a. In lines 31–33 of this inscription are mentioned an ἀρτοκόπος and μάγειρος who doubtless prepared the feast for the meetings of the association.¹ Μάγειροι are also referred to in this connection in inscriptions from Tanagra (*Inscr. Gr. Sept.* 1562); from Thebes² (Cauer, *Delectus*², 356); from Anactorium (*C. I. G.* II, add. 1793b, 18 f.), together with διάκονος, ἀρχιουνόχους, etc.; from Corcyra (*C. I. G.* II, add. 1849c, 6 ff.), along with ὑπηρέτας and οἰνοχόος. But by far the largest number from any one place are from Olympia. Compare the work of Curtius, Adler, and others on Olympia, Volume V, 62, 17, where an ἀρχιμάγειρος is mentioned along with ἐπισπονδορχησται, οἰνοχόος, etc.;³ V, 64, 33, στεγανόμος καὶ μάγειρος, etc.;⁴ V, 66, 8, μάγειρος, with οἰνοχόος, ἐπισ[π]ονδορχηστής, etc.;⁵ V, 74, 12, μάγειρος, with σπονδοφόροι, etc.;⁶ V, 78, 6, μάγειρος καὶ ἀρτοκόπος; V, 87, 3, μάγειρος;⁷ V, 107, 17, μάγειροι.⁸ Similar enumerations are found in *I. G. Sept.* III, 486, 16, and 487, 14. In *I. G. Sicil.* 617, 9, occurs a mention of a μάγειρος which Kaibel thinks refers to the sacred rites of Diana and Apollo. Two other inscriptions (*Inscr. Gr. Insul.* II, 646a, 6, and 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1885, p. 197) seem to mention μάγειροι connected with the worship of Aesculapius. The second of these (of the fifth century B. C.) is a dedicatory inscription to Aesculapius by a μάγειρος who was evidently an official in the temple service. An inscription discussed by F. Hiller in *Mitth. d. Arch. Inst.* XIX

¹ See discussion of the inscription by the editors. It may very well be that at this time (first century A. D.) the μάγειρος was a manumitted slave and this fact may be indicated by the use of ἐκ with the name of his former master.

² See R. Meister, *Bzb. Beitr.* V, p. 199, on ἐπ[ρ]αειρ.

³ Cf. *Arch. Zeit.* XXXVIII (1880), p. 54, No. 347.

⁴ Cf. Ditt., *Syll.*² 612, 33.

⁵ Cf. *Arch. Zeit.*, XXXVII (1879), p. 61, No. 247.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, XXXVI (1878), p. 180, No. 210.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, XXXVII (1879), p. 61, No. 246.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, XXXVI (1878), p. 178, No. 206.

(1894), pp. 42 ff., may mention a μάγιστρος of similar occupation. And finally to be noted here is an inscription in *Revue Archéol.* I (1874), p. 91, No. 1, where we find Apollo worshiped as Μαγίσιος. This is explained by P. Foucart (*B. C. H.* VII [1883], p. 513) as showing a connection with one of the gods of the Semitic pantheon. Dittenberger (in *Hermes*, XIII [1878], pp. 392f.) discusses an inscription (found in *Bulletino Napoletano*, I, pp. 137 ff., Tafel V, 2) which, he concludes, shows a similar dedication by some temple or religious functionary under the appellation of ἄρταμος. This is the only occurrence, as far as I know, of the word being used in this signification.

As regards the employment of the μάγιστρος in private sacrifices, there are quite enough allusions to this aspect of his professional duties to convince us that he was not seldom employed in this way. Indeed, in a fragment of Athenio (*M.* IV, 557; *K.* III, 369) a μάγιστρος claims in extravagant language that his ancestors in the art were responsible for sacrifices ever having been offered to the gods. A few verses give the full meaning of his words for our purpose. Vss. 9–11:

Ἄλληλοφαγίας καὶ κακῶν ὄντων συχνῶν,
γενόμενος ἀνθρωπός τις οὐκ ἀβέλτερος
θύσας ἱερεῖον πρῶτος ᾤπτισεν κρέας.

Vss. 17–20:

ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν πρότερον μεμνημένοι
τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῖς θεοῖσιν ὀπτῶσιν φλογὶ
ἄλας οὐ προσάγοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐδέπω
εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην χρῆσιν ἐξευρημένοι.

Vss. 40–43:

Καταρχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς οἱ μάγιστροι, θύομεν,
σπονδὰς ποιούμεν, τῷ μάλιστα τοὺς θεοὺς
ἡμῖν ὑπακούειν διὰ τὸ ταῦθ' εὐρηκέναι
τὰ μάλιστα συντείνοντα πρὸς τὸ ζῆν καλῶς.

These sacrifices in private performed by μάγειροι were for the most part at the beginning of feasts or dinners which were prepared by professional μάγειροι. As I have attempted to show in a preceding chapter, these μάγειροι could scarcely have been in the condition of ordinary slaves much before the middle of the third century B. C., and even then a μάγειρος was not included in the *familia* of every household. Hence the statements of Petersen (*loc. cit.*) and Stengel (*Gr. Kultusalt.*, p. 95) are to be thus modified and corrected.

In an amusing fragment from Straton (M. IV, 545; K. III, 361) a μάγειρος has been hired on the occasion of a dinner party and persists in using Homeric phrases to the discomfort and disgust of his employer. He is to make the sacrifice, and thus addresses the employer (vss. 19 ff.):

“Οὐδ’ ἄρα θύεις ἐρυσίχθον;” οὐκ ἔφην ἐγώ.
 “βοῦν δ’ εὐρυμέτωπον;” οὐ θύω βοῦν, ἄθλιε.
 “μῆλα θυσιάζεις ἄρα;” μὰ Δί’ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ,
 οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν, προβάτιον δ’· “οἰκοῦν,” ἔφη,
 “τὰ μῆλα πρόβατα;” <μῆλα πρόβατ’; > οὐ μανθάνω
 τούτων οὐδέν, οὐδὲ βούλομαι.

The μάγειρος finally performed the sacrifice,¹ as seen from vs. 40:

Παρήν, ἔθνευ, ἔλεγεν ἄλλα ῥήματα.

In a fragment of Posidippus (M. IV, 521; K. III, 342) a μάγειρος states he is to go to prepare a wedding-feast, and incidentally mentions the sacrifice (vs. 19):

Διακονοῦμεν νῦν γάμους· τὸ θῦμα βοῦς.

A fragment of Alexis (M. III, 464; K. II, 361) shows also that a μάγειρος had assistants at such sacrifices (vss. 11 ff.):

B. Σὺ πρὸς θεῶν [μ’] ἔθυσας [οὐδὲ] τὸν ἔριφον.
 μὴ κόπτ’ ἐμ’, ἀλλὰ τὰ κρέα. A. παῖδες, παράγετε.
 ὀπτάνιόν ἐστιν; B. ἔστιν.

¹ Cf. vss. 34 f., where the barley-corns for the sacrifice are demanded by this Homeric μάγειρος.

It was not uncommon for employers to feel that they were being thus sacrificed by the endless prating of a μάγειρος instead of the real victim to be slain, as appears also from Anaxippus (M. IV, 459; K, III, 296; vss. 22 f.):

Παπαῖ,
ἐμὲ κατακόψεις, οὐχ ὃ θύειν μέλλομεν.

But μάγειροι were also used for private sacrifices of other kinds, as is evident from a recently published fragment of Menander's Περικειρομένη (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, CCXI, 14 ff.).¹ Here the slave of the soldier Polemon suggests that a sacrifice would be in order in view of his good fortune in securing his wife. Compare vss. 17 ff.:

(Doris) Χρῆν σε νῦν [πάλαι
εὐαγ<γ>έλια τῶν γεγονότων ποθ[ουμένων
[θύειν] ἐκ[εῖ]νης εὐτυχικῆς [τόδε.
(Pol.) νῆ τὸν Δί'· ὁρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις· ὁ δ[ε] . . .
μάγειρος ἐνδον ἐστί· τὴν ὕν [θύέτω.
(Dor.) κανοῦν δὲ ποῦ, καὶ τὰλλ' ἂν δεῖ; (Pol.) κα[νοῦν μὲν οὖν
ὑστερον ἐνάρξεται· ἀλλὰ ταύτην σφ[απτέτω.

In vs. 35 Polemon announces that the sacrifice has been offered:

(Pol.) εἰμ' ἐνθάδ'· ἀλλ' ἔθνον [ὑ]πὲρ εὐ[πραξίας,
[Γλυκέραν ὑπ]αρ εὐρηκ[υ]ϊαν οὗς [οὐδ' εἶδ' ὄναρ,
π[υθό]με[νο]ς.

And in vs. 49 Polemon invites Pataecus, father of Glycera, to join him in the sacrifice:

Σύνθυσε δῆ, Πάταιχ'.

If the μάγειρος did not receive his due portion at all such sacrifices, he was likely to get it in some unlawful way, as depicted in a fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 486; K. III, 317). Here a μάγειρος is represented as having caused great consternation at a certain sacrifice by surreptitiously disposing

¹ Cf. K. Dziatzko in *Jhbb. f. class. Phil.*, Spbd. 27, Heft 1, pp. 123-34, "Das Neue Fragment der Περικειρομένη des Menander."

of necessary sacrificial parts of the victim, and thus requiring a new sacrifice to be made.

From these numerous passages and inscriptions which I have quoted it is quite evident that from very early times professional μάγειροι were famous for their skill in the performance of sacrifices, and their services were sought by religious organizations as well as by private individuals on particular occasions.

II. AS BUTCHER

When the μάγειρος was discussed in his capacity as sacrificer, the skill was noticed which was attributed to him in the slaying of victims.¹ We should not be surprised, therefore, to find such words as ἄρταμος, δαιτρός, κρεωπώλης, κρεωδαίτης defined in the lexicographers by the word μάγειρος.² These words were used properly at various periods (δαιτρός, for example, being a Homeric word) of those who performed the functions of a butcher. After Homeric times, surely, such butchers would have their booths in the market-place, as may be seen from a passage in Machon (in Ath. xiii, 579e, ll. 43 ff.):

Ἐπεὶ προέβη τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἡ Γνάβαινα καὶ
ἤδη τελέως ἦν ὁμολογουμένη σορός,
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐξίνα
καὶ τοῦψον ἐφορᾶν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν πόσον
πωλεῖθ' ἕκαστον. εἴτ' ἰδοῦσα κατὰ τύχην
ἰστώντα κρεοπώλην τιν' ἀστείον πάνυ
τῇ θ' ἡλικίᾳ σφόδρα νέον, etc.

Though we cannot rely implicitly on the definitions of lexicographers to determine the exact usage of a word,—for the more familiar word would be used in defining the less

¹ Cf. Plut., *Mor.* 175 D; Plat., *Phaedr.* 285 E, *Euthyd.*, 301 C, D.

² Cf. Becker, *Anec. Gr.* 447, 5, Schol. Oppian. *Haliut.* ii, 622, Eustath. 577, 45 ff., Ath. XIV, 655 f., on ἄρταμος; Hesych., *Etym. Mag.*, Suid., etc., s. v. δαιτρός; Poll., *Onom.* vi, 34, and vii, 25, on κρεωδαίτης. Later I hope to publish in full the results of my investigations on the use and meaning of these words.

known term—yet there is good evidence in the literature itself that some μάγειροι as such did have butchers' stalls in the market and sold meat there. In the *Equites* of Aristophanes the sausage-seller relates one of his experiences while a boy, telling how he filched some meat from the shop of a μάγειρος. Compare vss. 417-20:

Καὶ νῆ Δί' ἄλλα γ' ἐστὶ μου κόβαλα παιδὸς ὄντος.
ἐξηπάτων γὰρ τοὺς μαγείρους ἐπιλέγων τοιαντί·
“σκέψασθε, παῖδες· οὐχ ὁρᾶθ'; ὦρα νέα, χελιδών.”
οἱ δ' ἔβλεπον, κἀγὼ 'ν τοσούτῳ τῶν κρεῶν ἔκλεπτον.

This passage evidently refers to the butcher's shop with the assistants (παῖδες) present. Again, in a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 422; K. II, 329; vss. 22 ff.) the means for display used by a courtesan are compared to those of a μάγειρος in his butcher's shop:

* Ἀν δὲ μὴ χαίρῃ γελῶσα, διατελεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν
ἐνδον, ὥσπερ τοῖς μαγείοις ἃ παράκειθ' ἐκάστοτε,
ἥνικ' ἂν πωλῶσιν αἰγῶν κρανία, ξυλήφιον
μυρρίνης ἔχουσα λεπτὸν ὀρθὸν ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν.

The reference is to the display of meats for sale.¹ A certain allusion to a μάγειρος as butcher is made by Machon (in Ath. vi, 243f.), where he tells a story concerning the parasite Chaerephon:

‘Ο Χαιρεφῶν κρεᾶδι' ἐψώνει ποτέ,
καὶ τοῦ μαγείρου, φασίν, ὅστῳδες σφόδρα
αὐτῷ τι προσκόποντος ἀπὸ τύχης κρέας
εἶπεν· “μάγειρε, μὴ προσίστα τοῦτό μοι
τούστούν.” ὁ δ' εἶπεν· “ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐστὶν γλυκύ.”
καὶ μὴν τὸ πρὸς ὅστούν φασι κρέας εἶναι γλυκύ.
ὁ Χαιρεφῶν δέ, “καὶ μάλ', ὦ βέλτιστ',” ἔφη,
“γλυκὺ μὲν, προσιστάμενον δὲ λυπεῖ πανταχῇ.”

A butcher is a butcher the world over! Aesop (301, Halm) tells a story of two youths who in buying meat from

¹ Cf. Arist., *Eq.* 375-81.

a μάγειρος practiced such deceit as permitted of a moral being attached to the fable. Plato (*Legg.* viii, 849 D) designates a place for the trade of the μάγειρος. Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* iv, 66 M.) speaks of μάγειροι driving sheep away to sell them, doubtless in their butcher stalls.¹ In still later times Artemidorus (*Oneirocrit.* iii, 56 [187]) uses these words:

Οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάγειροι οἱ τὰ κρέα κατακόπτοντες καὶ πιπράσκοντες κινδύνων εἰσὶ σημαντικοί. . . . πλουσίοις δὲ καὶ βλάβης πρὸς τοῖς κινδύνοις εἰσὶ σημαντικοὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ δήμῳ διανέμειν τὸν τοιοῦτον μάγειρον τὰ κρέα.

I cannot go so far as Stengel (*Gr. Kult.*², 94 f.) does, however, and say that a single passage of Artemidorus (*Oneirocr.* v, 2[253]), as is implied, indicates that the butcher treated every animal he slaughtered as if it were a sacrificial victim. In fact, no mention of a μάγειρος is here made, and the slaying of a wife would naturally be thought of as that of a sacrificial victim. Under this simile the sacrifice of her honor is first mentioned. It is only the further details of such a sacrifice that are given in the sale of the parts of the sacrificial victim. Nothing more can be inferred from the passage, it seems to me.

It is possible that we have accounts of μάγειροι as butchers preserved in *Oxyrh. Papyr.* CVIII, verso 2, and *Amherst Papyr.* CXXVII, 2.

Yet until later times, at least, the word μάγειρος was not commonly applied, I think, to butchers who kept stalls in the market-place. Their skill in slaughtering animals was put to good use in preparing meat for great feasts and in making sacrifices.

¹ The comparison between the μάγειρος (whether as sacrificer or as butcher) and the ποιμὴν is frequent in Greek literature. Compare Aesop, 377 (Halm); Max. Tyr., *Dissert.* xxv, 2; Themist., *Or.* xiii, 171c; Synes., *De regno*, p. 4.

CHAPTER VIII

NUMBER OF ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ EMPLOYED

The number of *μάγειροι* hired for any given occasion varied according to the magnitude of the affair and the preparations that were necessary. Thus Antiphanes (M. III, 132; K. II, 110) seems to have represented a large feast at which the services of twelve *μάγειροι* were required. The fact that *δημιουργοί* were hired for the same occasion may indicate that it was a grand nuptial feast.¹ And so other kinds of cooks might be hired along with the *μάγειροι*. We have seen in a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 480; K. II, 375) that someone desired the services of two *μάγειροι*:

Ἐγωγε δύο λαβεῖν μαγείρους βούλομαι
οὓς ἂν σοφωτάτους δύνωμ' ἐν τῇ πόλει.

And in the passage quoted from Euphron (M. IV, 492; K. III, 322) at least one assistant was to accompany the *μάγειρος* (who there speaks) to the wedding. For it is an assured thing that *μάγειροι* had their subordinates on all great occasions, as we see from a fragment of Damoxenus (M. IV, 530; K. III, 349; vss. 43 ff.):

Τὸ ταῦτα διορᾶν ἐστὶν ἐμφύχου τέχνης,
οὐ τὸ διανίζειν λοπάδας οὐδ' ὄζειν καπνοῦ.
ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰς τοῦπτόνιον οὐκ εἰσέρχομαι.
B. ἀλλὰ τί; A. θεωρῶ πλησίον καθήμενος,
πονοῦσι δ' ἕτεροι. B. σὺν δέ; A. λέγω τὰς αἰτίας
καὶ τὰποβαῖνον, etc.

This *μάγειρος*, then, simply directed the movements of his assistants. Another reference to their *ὑποδιάκονοι* is found in Posidippus (M. IV, 521; K. III, 342; vs. 10), while Anti-

¹ Cf. p. 52, n. 1.

phanes (M. III, 125; K. II, 105) gives us a scene of a μάγειρος cooking fish with his παῖς (vs. 12) standing by to assist him.¹ In the passage in the *Acharnians*, moreover, already referred to (p. 48), I see proof of the fact that a μάγειρος at times had even a great many assistants whom he directed. As already observed, Dicaeopolis was said to act μαγειρικῶς, and yet he simply directs those who are preparing the feast of good things. There may, indeed, be an intended jest here at the expense of the μάγειροι.

In later times, as was to be expected, μάγειροι were more numerous and employed by the great and extravagant persons in immense crowds, if we may trust the accounts of later writers. Athenaeus (xii, 547d), for example, tells of a feast given by the peripatetic Lycon at which ὁ τῶν τραπέζοποιῶν καὶ μαγείρων ὄχλος τοσοῦτος ἦν ὥστε πολλοὺς ὀρρωδεῖν καὶ βουλομένους προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν διατριβὴν ἀνακόπτεσθαι, etc. And, again, Athenaeus (xii, 541c) tells a story of a certain Sybarite who had χίλιοι μάγειροι καὶ ὀρνιθευταί.² Certain kings had whole brigades of μάγειροι, οἰνοχόοι, etc., we are told by Zosimus (*Hist.* iv, 28). In such cases there were doubtless ἀρχιμάγειροι with their assistant μάγειροι.³

¹ Cf. frg. of Sosipater (M. IV, 482; K. III, 314; vs. 21) where παῖς has been sent to market.

² Cf. Ael., *Var. Hist.* xii, 24.

³ Cf. Plut., *Mor.* 11 B and C.

CHAPTER IX

PRICE PAID THE ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ¹

We have already observed that *μάγειροι* were hired for the occasions when their services were required. . Despite the statement of Athenaeus (xiv, 660b), 'Αναγέγραπται τε οὐδαμοῦ μαγείρῳ μισθός, ἀλλὰ κήρυκι, which refers to the *μάγειροι* as associated with the *κήρυκες*, we have at least one inscription where (Ditt., *Syll.*² 140, 16) the pay of the *μάγειρος* is mentioned: τῶι μαγίρῳ τρία ἡμιαβέλια; and elsewhere the perquisites of the *μάγειροι* are specially mentioned.¹ That they agreed upon their pay before accepting an offer for business is evident from several passages in extant Greek literature. This fact is made especially patent in a fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 492; K. III, 322), where (vss. 6 ff.) we find these words spoken by a *μάγειρος* himself:

[Δεῖ]

Ὅταν μὲν ἔλθῃς εἰς τοιοῦτον συρφετόν,
Δρόμωνα καὶ Κέρδωνα καὶ Σωτηρίδην,
μισθὸν δίδοντας ὅσον ἂν αἰτήσῃς, ἀπλῶς
εἶναι δίκαιον, οὗ δὲ νῦν βαδίζομεν,
εἰς τοὺς γάμους, ἀνδροφόνον.

We may compare also a fragment of Philostephanus (M. IV, 589; K. III, 393; vs. 4), Δοὺς μισθὸν δὲν μ' ἤτησας ἦκω δεῦρ' ἄγων, which doubtless brought a smile to the face of the *μάγειρος* to whom these words were addressed. In the Antiphanes passage (M. III, 132; K. II, 110) the *μάγειροι* receive their pay in money, while *δημιουργοὶ* demanded another kind, *μέλιτος*—*σκάφας*. But it was not always an easy matter for them to obtain the promised pay. A *μάγειρος*

¹ See references under Chapter VII, I (d).

relates an experience of this nature in a fragment of Diphilus (M. IV, 394; K. II, 553), where he is speaking of certain persons whom he now avoids. His reasons are just ones (vss. 34 ff.):

Τὸ μισθάριον γὰρ ἂν ἀπαιτῆς, ἀμίδα μοι
ἔνεγκε πρῶτον, φησίν. ὄξος ἢ φακῇ
οὐκ εἶχε. πάλιν ᾗτησας, οἰμώξει μακρὰ
πρῶτος μαγείρων, φησίν. ἕτερα μυρία
τοιαῦτα καταλέξαμι' ἂν.

The μάγειρος is hardly to be censured for declining to serve this class of employers. And, again, the pay was sometimes small, as seen from Euphron (M. IV, 492; K. III, 322; vs. 13): ὁ μισθὸς μικρός. But it is also apparent that the μάγειρος exercised his full prerogative (as he considered it) at such times. And so in a fragment of Straton (M. IV, 545; K. III, 361) a μάγειρος persists in speaking in Homeric fashion, to the discomfiture of his employer, and is made to reply (vss. 32 f.):

“Ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς τέτταρας
δραχμὰς ἀποβάλω,” φησί, “τὴν προαίρεσιν;”

But it would be unsafe to draw any inferences from such a comic passage as to the real pay that a μάγειρος might receive at a given time. At this dinner several persons (more than five, vss. 13 f.) were to be present, but it was, possibly, to be in the country (cf. vs. 25). It is wise to make no deductions from the passage further than that the μάγειρος had his own way and expected to receive what, to his mind at least, was small pay for such an artist. We may also mention a fictitious account in Diogenes Laertius (vi, 86), where ten minae are put down to the credit of the μάγειρος. But the value of money fluctuated then as today, so that we are certain only of the ability of the professional μάγειρος ordinarily to get full value in return for the services he rendered.

CHAPTER X

DRESS OF THE ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ

In the discussion of the social status of the μάγειροι a passage in Pollux (iv, 118 f.) was quoted (p. 18) which contained the following statement concerning the dress of the μάγειροι in the New Comedy: τῷ δὲ μαγείρῳ διπλῇ, ἄγναπτος ἢ ἐσθής. What is the reference, then, comprised in the word διπλῇ? Let us first turn to Comedy itself for an explanation. In a fragment of Hegesippus (M. IV, 479; K. III, 312) a μάγειρος in his boast of having attained perfection in the art gives this reason for his assertions (vss. 6 ff.):

Οὐ γὰρ παρέργως ἔμαθον ἐν ἔτεσιν δυσὶν
ἔχων περιζώμ', ἀλλ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον
ζητῶν κατὰ μέρη τὴν τέχνην ἐξήτακα, etc.

When μάγειροι began the study of their art, then, it would seem that they at once donned the περιζώμα of their profession. That they continued to wear it we learn from a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 465; K. II, 362), where a μάγειρος complains that nothing is at hand with which to prepare the dinner, and concludes with these words (vss. 10 f.):

Διακενῆς δ' ἔστηκε ἐγὼ
ἔχων μάχαιραν, προσέτι περιεζωσμένος.

He had his apron on and knife in hand all ready for the performance of his duties. And so Meineke (III, 186) rightly explains the verb περιεζῶσθαι in a fragment of Anaxandrides, I think, of the περιζώμα *quale coquorum proprium erat*. Then may not the διπλῇ, ἄγναπτος ἐσθής of the Pollux passage simply refer to the fact that μάγειροι commonly appeared wearing this second, upper garment or apron?

Outside of Comedy, also, there is evidence that the *περίζωμα* was regularly worn by the *μάγειροι*. Plutarch (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 182 D) tells the following story:

Ἀριστοδήμου δὲ τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἐκ μαγείρου γεγονέναι δοκοῦντος, συμβουλευόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀφαιρεῖν, “Οἱ λόγοι σου,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἀριστόδημε, περιζώματος ὄζουσιν”

The *περίζωμα* was, consequently, a recognized part of the habit of a *μάγειρος*.¹ Finally may be mentioned the story from Hegesander² (in *Ath.* viii, 340f) about the poet Antagoras and King Antigonos:

Ἀνταγόρας μὲν ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ εἶα τὸν παῖδα ἀλεῖψαι τὸν ἰχθύν, ἀλλὰ λούσai, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος. “Ἐν δὲ στρατοπέδῳ ἔψοντι,” φησὶν, “αὐτῷ γόγγρων λοπάδα καὶ περιεζωσμένῳ Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς παραστάς, “Ἄρά γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἀνταγόρα, τὸν Ὅμηρον οἶει τὰς τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πράξεις ἀναγράφαι γόγγρους ἔψοντα;” κ.τ.ε.

Even the poet had the distinctive *περίζωμα* of the *μάγειρος* when employed with the duties of that profession.

¹ Cf. Plut., *Præcept. ger. rep.* 821 E, where we read that the ὑπηρέται of Phalaris of Agrigentum wore γλαυκίνα περιζώματα.

² Cf. Plut., *Quæst. conv.* 688 D. But Plutarch does not give the story as from Hegesander.

CHAPTER XI

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ

Up to this point we have considered the *μάγειροι* more particularly with reference to their social status and the occasions when their services were most likely to be in demand. Now let us turn to a more exact consideration of the *μάγειροι* themselves and of those traits which mainly characterized them in the practice of their profession. In this way we shall be brought finally to a brief inspection of the art itself as practiced by them. We find the *μάγειροι* most clearly and most fully depicted in the Greek Comedy, and it is from the comic poets, particularly of the Middle and New Comedy, that we shall again draw our chief information.

In by far the largest number of comic fragments in which the *μάγειρος* is the principal character we discover that his chief individual trait may be designated by the Greek word, *ἀλαζονεία*.¹ We are not surprised, therefore, at the admission made by a *μάγειρος* concerning his art in a fragment of Posidippus (M. IV, 521; K. III, 342) that well illustrates this very common trait of the *μάγειροι*. A *μάγειρος* converses with his pupils (Ath. ix, 376e) and impresses upon them the following words of admonition (vss. 1-15):

Μαθητὰ Λεύκων οἱ τε συνδιάκονοι
ὕμεις· ἅπας γάρ ἐστιν οἰκέος τόπος
ὑπὲρ τέχνης λαλεῖν τι· τῶν ἡδυσμάτων
πάντων κράτιστόν ἐστιν ἐν μαγειρικῇ
ἀλαζονεία· τὸ καθ' ὅλου δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν
ὄψει σχεδὸν τι πάντα τοῦθ' ἡγούμενον.
ξεναγὸς οὗτος, ὅστις ἂν θώρακ' ἔχῃ

¹ Cf. O. Ribbeck, *Alazon*, pp. 18-28.

φολιδωτὸν ἢ δράκοντα σεσιδηρωμένον,
 ἐφάνη Βριάρεως, ἂν τύχη δ' ἐστὶν λαγώς.
 ὁ μάγειρος ἂν μὲν ὑποδιακόνους ἔχων
 πρὸς τὸν ιδιώτην καὶ μαθητὰς εἰσὶν,
 κυμινοπρίστας πάντας ἢ λιμοὺς καλῶν,
 ἔπτῃς ἕκαστος εὐθύς. ἂν δ' ἀληθινὸν
 σαυτὸν παραβάλλῃς, καὶ προσεκδαρεῖς ἄπει.
 ὅπερ οὖν ὑπεθέμην, τῷ κενῷ χώραν δίδου.

The methods encouraged by such a teacher were not suffered to pass unheeded by his pupils, we may infer from such a passage as that of Athenio (M. IV, 557; K. III, 369), where a μάγειρος claims that reverence toward the gods is due to his art; in fact, that civilization arose from the μαγειρικὴ τέχνη. The passage is most amusingly interesting as showing the tendency of the boastful talk of our μάγειροι. Verses 1-38 are as follows:

Οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι πάντων ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη
 πρὸς εὐσέβειαν πλείστα προσενήνεχθ' ὅλως;
 B. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦτο; A. πάνν γε, βάρβαρε.
 τοῦ θηριώδους καὶ παρασπόνδου βίου
 ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἀπολύσασα καὶ τῆς δυσχεροῦς
 ἀλληλοφαγίας, ἤγαγ' εἰς τάξιν τινά,
 καὶ τουτονὶ περιῆψεν ὃν νυνὶ βίον
 ζῶμεν. B. τίνα τρόπον; A. πρόσεχε, κἀγὼ σοι φράσω.
 ἀλληλοφαγίας καὶ κακῶν ὄντων συχνῶν,
 γενόμενος ἀνθρωπὸς τις οὐκ ἀβέλτερος
 θύσας ἱερεῖον πρῶτος ὤπησεν κρέας.
 ὥς δ' ἦν τὸ κρέας ἥδιον ἀνθρώπου κρεῶν,
 αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐμασῶντο, τὰ δὲ βοσκήματα
 θύοντες ὤπτων. ὥς δ' ἄπαξ τῆς ἡδονῆς
 ἐμπειρίαν τίν' ἔλαβον, ἀρχῆς γενομένης,
 ἐπὶ πλείον ἠύξον τὴν μαγειρικὴν τέχνην.
 ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν πρότερον μεμνημένοι
 τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῖς θεοῖσιν ὀπτῶσιν φλογὶ
 ἅλας οὐ προσάγοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐδέπω

εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην χρῆσιν ἐξευρημένοι.
ὥς δ' ἦρεσ' αὐτοῖς ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλας
προσάγουσιν ἤδη τῶν ἱερῶν γεγραμμένων,
τὰ πάτρια διατηροῦντες, ἅπερ ἡμῖν μόνα
ἅπασιν ἀρχὴ γέγονε τῆς σωτηρίας,
τὸ προσφιλοτεχνεῖν διὰ τε τῶν ἡδυσμάτων
ἐπὶ πλείον αὖξεν τὴν μαγειρικὴν τέχνην.

B. καινὸς γάρ ἐστιν οὕτοσι Παλαίφατος.

A. μετὰ ταῦτα γαστρίον τις ὠνθυλευμένον
προϊόντος εἰσηνέγκατ' ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου·
ἐρίφιον ἐτακέρωσε, πνικτὸν διέλαβεν,
περικομματίῳ διεγίγγρασ' ὑποκρούσας γλυκεῖ,
ἰχθὺν παρεισεκύκλησεν οὐδ' ὀρώμενον,
λάχανον, τάριχος πολυτελής, χόνδρον, μέλι.
ὥς πολὺ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἃς νῦν λέγω
ἀπείχ' ἕκαστος τοῦ φαγεῖν ἂν ἔτι νεκροῦ,
αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες ἡξίουσιν συζῆν, ὅχλος
ἡθροΐζετ', ἐγένονθ' αἱ πόλεις οἰκούμεναι
διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ὅπερ εἶπα, τὴν μαγειρικὴν.

Such extravagant claims on the part of the *μάγειροι* are often met with in the comic fragments. Thus in one of Sosipater's fragments (M. IV, 482; K. III, 314) a *μάγειρος* claims that there are many impostors in the art, but that he himself is among the very few survivors of the lost art who preserve intact the teachings of the great Sicon. If we may trust his words, the art of the *μάγειρος* demanded a study of astrology (vss. 15, 25 ff.) in order to know the times and seasons for certain foods, of architecture (vss. 16, 36 ff.) for the correct construction of the kitchen, of strategy (vss. 18, 44 ff.) for the proper arrangement and distribution of everything within the province of the *μάγειροι*. In a similar vein a *μάγειρος* in a fragment of Nicomachus (M. IV, 583; K. III, 386) contends that, while one *μάγειρος* may differ greatly from another, the true *μάγειρος* must have a knowledge of astrology, geometry, medicine, and other arts, if he would

be most successful in the practice of his own profession. Another most wise μάγειρος is heard from in a long fragment of Damoxenus (M. IV, 530; K. III, 349). This one asserts that he was under the instruction of the learned Epicurus—apparently a parody on the beliefs of the Epicureans, as commonly understood, in comparison with those of the Stoics (vss. 64 ff.). He recommends the study of the great masters in the art who teach the proper uses of foods in their seasons and the surest means of preventing sickness. This is one of those μάγειροι who claim that they never go into the kitchen, but give instructions to their subordinates. All things must harmonize beautifully, he says; else there will result general distress and confusion. In the fragment of Straton (M. IV, 545; K. III, 361) already referred to (p. 62) a μάγειρος insists upon displaying his knowledge of Homeric Greek to the positive discomfort of his employer, who is brought to the point of exclaiming (vss. 1-4):¹

Σφίγγ' ἄρρεν', οὐ μάγειρον, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
εἰληφ'. ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
ὅσ' ἂν λέγῃ συνίημι· καινὰ ῥήματα
πεπορισμένος πάρεστιν.

Again, in Hegesippus (M. IV, 479; K. III, 312) a μάγειρος boasts that he has reached the summit of his art by a lifelong study, advancing step by step toward the goal of his ambition, as we learn from vss. 6 ff.:

Οὐ γὰρ παρέργως ἔμαθον ἐν ἔτεσιν δυσὶν
ἔχων περίζωμ', ἀλλ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον
ζητῶν κατὰ μέρη τὴν τέχνην ἐξήτακα·
εἶδη λαχάνων ὅσ' ἐστί, βεμβράδων τρόπους,
φακῆς γένη παντοδαπά. τὸ πέρας σοι λέγω· etc.

On such a passage as this one is in its entirety it is not strange that Athenaeus (vii, 290b) remarks: 'Αλαζονικὸν δ' ἐστὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν μαγείρων φύλον.

¹ Cf. Philemon in Ath. xiv, 659b, and Meineke's note (IV, 48) on the passage.

And so in almost every passage of significance where a *μάγειρος* speaks in Comedy we are able to detect this boastful, this arrogant spirit so characteristic of him in word and act. Along with the physicians (cf. Ath. ix, 377f) of ancient times he appears to have been the *ἀλαζών par excellence*. But let us look beneath the comic dress and discover, if possible, the real condition (aside from the social status, already discussed) of these *μάγειροι*. It must, of course, be borne in mind that in all the passages now to be adduced the characteristic already mentioned is recognizable to a greater or less degree; but of this we shall not particularly speak again, it being well understood that this was one of their prominent traits.

Elsewhere (pp. 2 ff.) we have referred to the growth of the art of the *μάγειροι* for various causes and the consequent increase of the literature on the subject. It should cause no surprise, then, that the *μάγειροι* so frequently speak of their great masters in the art. With due regard to the comic effect intended, it nevertheless seems true that these *μάγειροι* did consult the books of those who were considered authorities on their art. And we shall presently see how the individual *μάγειροι* had special dishes on which they prided themselves. But not only did the older *μάγειροι* study the old masters' works, but they gave instruction themselves to the younger generation in the art. So in Euphron (M. IV, 486; K. III, 317) a *μάγειρος* is portrayed as addressing one of his pupils who has rapidly become proficient in the art. His first words are worthy of notice (vss. 1-4):

Πολλῶν μαθητῶν γενομένων ἐμοί, Λίκε,
διὰ τὸ νοεῖν ἀεί τι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχειν
ἄπει γεγονὼς μάγειρος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας
ἐν οὐχ ὅλοις δέκα μηνσί, πολὺ νεώτατος.

From this we may infer that the time spent as an apprentice was usually longer than that here designated. Yet some of

the older members of the profession did not believe the art could be acquired so quickly, as seen from Sosipater (M. IV, 482; K. III, 314; vss. 6ff.):

Ἐπεὶ μάγειρον ἂν λάβῃς ἀληθινόν,
ἐκ παιδὸς ὀρθῶς εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰσηγμένον
καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις κατέχοντα καὶ τὰ μαθήματα
ἅπαντ' ἐφεξῆς εἰδὼθ', ἕτερόν σοι τυχόν
φανήσεται τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Another such *μάγειρος* is depicted by Hegesippus (M. IV, 479; K. III, 312). Dionysius (M. III, 551; K. II, 425) also portrays a *μάγειρος* in conversation with his pupils, who gives timely warning of what is expected of each of them in the pursuit of their vocation. Philetaerus (M. III, 298; K. II, 234) refers to a certain *μάγειρος* who had more pupils than Stratonicus (cf. p. 32, n. 1), while in Euphron (M. IV, 492; K. III, 322) a pupil speaks proudly of his teacher's skill. We may safely conclude, therefore, that these frequent references had their basis in reality. The older class of *μάγειροι* would naturally pride themselves on their knowledge of the great writers on the art. And their instruction, in turn, would be sought by younger members of the profession who came under their supervision and acted as their assistants until they were competent to take up their occupation alone.

The rivalry between *μάγειροι* when a desirable employer wished to hire one of their number is well demonstrated in a fragment of Posidippus (M. IV, 513; K. III, 335), where such an employer relates his experience on such an occasion:

Ἐγὼ μάγειρον λαμβάνων ἀκήκοα
τὰ τῶν μαγείρων πάνθ' ἃ καθ' ἑκάστου κακὰ
ἀντεργολαβοῦντος ἔλεγον· ὁ μὲν ὡς οἶκ' ἔχει
ρίνα κριτικὴν πρὸς τοῦψον, ὁ δ' ὅτι <τὸ> στόμα
πονηρόν, ὁ δὲ τὴν γλῶτταν εἰς ἀσχήμονας
ἐπιθυμίας ἐνιά τε τῶν ἡδυσμάτων,
κάθαλος, κάτοξος, χναυστικός, προσκαυστικός,

καπνὸν οὐ φέρων, πῦρ οὐ φέρων. ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς
εἰς τὰς μαχαίρας ἦλθον· ὧν εἰς οὐτοσί
διὰ τῶν μαχαिरῶν τοῦ πυρός τ' ἐλήλυθεν.¹

The better μάγειροι, at least, did not hire to any chance person who might stand in need of their services. A fragment of Diphilus (M. IV, 394; K. II, 553; vss. 4–32), in which a μάγειρος converses with a τραπεζοποιός, furnishes trustworthy information on the subject, though under the comic disguise:

Οὐ γὰρ βαδίζω πρότερον ἢ μὴ δοκιμάσω
τίς ἐσθ' ὁ θύων, ἢ πόθεν συνίσταται
τὸ δεῖπνον, ἢ κέκληκεν ἀνθρώπους τίνας.
ἔστιν δ' ἀπάντων τῶν γενῶν μοι διαγραφή,
εἰς ποῦα μισθοῦν ἢ φυλάττεσθαι με δεῖ.
οἶον τὸ κατὰ τοῦμπόριον, εἰ βούλει, γένος.
ναύκληρος ἀποθίει τις εὐχὴν, ἀποβαλὼν
τὸν ἰστὸν ἢ πηδάλια συντρίψας νεώς,
ἢ φορτί' ἐξέρριψ' ὑπέραντλος γενόμενος·
ἀφήκα τὸν τοιοῦτον· οὐδὲν ἡδέως
ποιεῖ γὰρ οὗτος, ἀλλ' ὅσον νόμου χάριν.
ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖσι διαλογίζεται
τοῖς συμπλέουσιν ὅπόσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος
τιθεῖς, τὰ θ' αὐτοῦ σπλάγχχν' ἕκαστος ἐσθίει.
ἀλλ' ἕτερος εἰσπέπλευκεν ἐκ Βυζαντίου
τριταῖος, ἀπαθής, εὐπορηκώς, περιχαρὴς
εἰς δέκ' ἐπὶ τῇ μνη' γεγονέναι καὶ δώδεκα,
λαλῶν τὰ ναῦλα καὶ δάνει' ἐρυγγάνων,
ἀφροδίσι' ὑπὸ κόλλοις μαστροποῖς ποιῶν·
ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑπέμυξ' εὐθὺς ἐκβεβηκότα,
τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλον, ἐμνήσθην Διὸς
σωτήρος, ἐμπέπηγα τῷ διακονεῖν.
τοιοῦτος ὁ τρόπος. μειράκιον ἐρῶν πάλιν
τὰ πατρῷα βρῦκει καὶ σπαθῆ, πορεύομαι.

¹ Some proverb is doubtless referred to in these last verses, but there seems to have been another meaning intended, also. The μάχαιρα was a very common utensil of the μάγειροι, and they are represented on the comic stage as carrying one of these. The successful contestant might, therefore, pass through the ranks of brandished μάχαιραι and the πῦρ λόγων of his rivals. See Meineke's note on this verse.

ἀπὸ συμβολῶν συνάγοντα νῆ Δί' ἑτερά που
 ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸν κέραμον ἐνευρημένα,
 τὰ κράσπεδ' ἀποθλιβέντα καὶ κεκραγότα·
 "Ὁψάριον ἀγοραῖον ποιεῖν τίς βούλεται;"
 ἐῷ βοᾶν, etc.

It is doubtless true that the most independent of the *μάγειροι* knew beforehand the condition of the persons to whom they hired, and were quite as well informed as to the employers as the latter were concerning the standing of individual *μάγειροι*.

But when a professional *μάγειρος* had once been hired for some special occasion, he could generally be depended upon to put forth his best efforts to make the affair a success. He particularly desired to know in advance the character of the persons who were to be present at the feast he was to prepare. In this respect he especially differed from the *ὀψοποιός*¹ (most like the *μάγειρος* in some points of the profession), according to the statement of a *μάγειρος* in a fragment of Dionysius (M. III, 547; K. II, 423) when discouraging on the art to his employer (vss. 1-35):

Σφόδρα μοι κεχάρισαι, Σιμμία, νῆ τοὺς θεούς,
 ταυτὶ προείπας· τὸν μάγειρον εἰδέναι
 πολὺ δεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ πρότερον οἷς μέλλει ποιεῖν
 τὸ δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐγχειρεῖν ποιεῖν·
 ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἔν τις τοῦτ' ἐπιβλέψῃ μόνον,
 τοῦτον ποιῆσαι κατὰ τρόπον πῶς δεῖ, τίνα
 τρόπον παραθεῖναι δ' ἢ πότ' ἢ πῶς σκενάσαι
 δεῖ, μὴ προῖδηται τοῦτο μηδὲ φροντίσῃ,
 οὐκέτι μάγειρος, ὀψοποιὸς δ' ἐστί που·
 οὐ ταῦτ' δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο· πολὺ διήλλαχεν,
 [πολύ]. στρατηγὸς πᾶς καλεῖθ' ὅς ἂν λάβῃ
 δύναμιν, ὁ μέντοι δυνάμενος κἂν πράγμασιν
 ἀναστραφῆναι καὶ διαβλέψαι τί που

¹ I have collected the available material on the *ὀψοποιός* and shall publish my results at some future time.

στρατηγός ἐστιν, ἡγεμῶν δὲ θάτερον.
οὕτως ἐφ' ἡμῶν σκενᾶσαι μὲν ἢ τεμεῖν
ἡδύσμαθ' ἐψῆσαι τε καὶ φυσεῖν τὸ πῦρ
ὁ τυχὼν δύναται ἄν. ὀψοποιὸς δ' οὖν μόνον
ἐστὶν ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἄλλο τι.
συνιδεῖν τόπον, ὥραν, τὸν καλοῦντα, τὸν πάλιν
δειπνοῦντα, πότε δὲ καὶ τίν' ἰχθὺν ἀγοράσαι,
[οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος]. πάντα μὲν λήφει σχεδὸν
αἰ γάρ, οὐκ αἰεὶ δὲ τὴν τούτων χάριν
ἔχεις ὁμοίαν, οὐδ' ἴσην τὴν ἡδονήν.
Ἀρχέστρατος γέγραφέ τε καὶ δοξάζεται
παρά τισιν οὕτως ὡς λέγων τι χρήσιμον,
τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἡγνόηκε κοῦδ' ἐν λέγει.
μὴ πάντ' ἄκουε μηδὲ πάντα μάνθανε,
τῶν βιαίων ἔσθ' ἕνεκα τὰ γεγραμμένα,
κενὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτ' ἦν οὐδέπω γεγραμμένα.
οὐδ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν περὶ μαγειρικῆς· ἐπεὶ
εἰπ' ἄρτιως
ὅρον γὰρ οὐκ ἔσχηκεν, σὺ ὁ καιρός,
αὐτὴ δ' ἐαυτῆς ἐστὶ δεσπότης· ἐὰν δ'
εὖ μὲν σὺ χρήσῃ τῇ τέχνῃ, τὸν τῆς τύχης
καιρὸν δ' ἀπολέσῃς, παραπόλῳλεν ἡ τέχνη.

The μάγειρος spared no pains, then, it would seem, to procure the proper food for each occasion and to suit the tastes of the persons present. It was especially important that they should be apprised of the various tastes of men of different nationalities, we read in a fragment of Diphilus (M. IV, 381; K. II, 545), where a μάγειρος is introduced in conversation with his employer:

Πόσοι τὸ πλῆθος εἰσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι
εἰς τοὺς γάμους, βέλτιστε, καὶ πότερ' Ἀττικοὶ
ἅπαντες, ἢ καὶ τοῦμπορίου τινές; B. τί, δαὶ
τούτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς σέ τὸν μάγειρον; A. τῆς τέχνης
ἡγεμονία τίς ἐστὶν αὐτῆς, ὦ πάτερ,
τὸ τῶν ἐδομένων τὰ στόματα προειδέναι.

οἷον Ῥοδίους κέκληκας· εἰσιῶσι δὸς
 εὐθὺς ἀπὸ θερμοῦ τὴν μεγάλην αὐτοῖς σπάσαι,
 ἀποξέσας σίλουρον ἢ λεβίαν, ἐφ' ᾧ
 χαριεῖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ μυρίνην προσεγχείας.

B. ἀστέιον ὁ σιλουρισμός. A. ἂν Βυζαντίους,
 ἀψινθίῳ σπόδησον ὅσα γ' ἂν παρατιθῆς,
 κάβαλα ποιήσας πάντα κάσκοροδισμένα.
 διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰχθύων
 πάντες βλιχανώδεις εἰσὶ καὶ μεστοὶ λάπης.

In a city like Athens, whither the tide of commerce brought representatives of many nationalities, it was of particular consequence that the tastes of various peoples should be considered. A fragment of Menander (M. IV, 205; K. III, 132) makes this care of the μάγειροι even more apparent. The μέγειρος is in conversation with his employer, who speaks first:

Ξένου τὸ δειπνὸν ἐστὶν ὑποδοχῆς. B. τίνος;
 ποδαποῦ; διαφέρει τῷ μαγείρῳ· τοῦτο γάρ·
 οἷον τὰ νησιωτικὰ ταντὶ ξενύδρια
 ἐν προσφάτοις ἰχθυδίοις τεθραμμένα
 καὶ παντοδαποῖς, τοῖς ἀλμίοις μὲν οὐ πάνυ
 ἀλίσκεται, ἄλλ' οὕτως παρέργως ἀπτεται·
 τὰς δ' ὀνθυλεύσεις καὶ τὰ κεκαρυκευμένα
 μᾶλλον προσεδέξατ'. Ἀρκαδικὸς τοῦναντίον
 ἀθάλαττος ἐν τοῖς λοπαδίοις ἀλίσκεται·
 Ἴωνικὸς πλούταξ· ὑποστάσεις ποιῶ,
 κάνδαυλον, ὑποβινηγιῶντα βρώματα.

Anaxippus (M. IV, 459; K. III, 296) presents a μάγειρος who claims that he is careful to know the temperaments of the men whom he serves. He has separate dishes (vss. 28 ff.) for the philosophers, the lovers, the tax collectors, those of different ages. So thoroughly has he studied this branch of the art that he boasts (vss. 47 f.):

Ἴδὼν τὸ πρόσωπον γνώσομ' οὗ ζητεῖ φαγεῖν
 ἕκαστος ὑμῶν.

A *μάγειρος* gives similar advice to his pupils in a fragment of a play of Posidippus (M. IV. 521; K. III, 342; vss. 15 ff.):

Ὅπερ οὖν ὑπεθέμην, τῷ κενῷ χώραν δίδου.
καὶ τὰ στόμα γίνωσκε τῶν κεκλημένων.
ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὰμπόρια, τῆς τέχνης πέρας
τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἂν εὖ προσδράμῃς πρὸς τὸ στόμα.

But not only were the tastes consulted with reference to the kinds of food, but also in regard to the temperature at which it was served. This is the tenor of the speech of a *μάγειρος* in a fragment of Sosipater (M. IV, 482; K. III, 314; vss. 45–56):

Ἡ τάξις σοφὸν
ἀπανταχοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ κἀν πάσῃ τέχνῃ,
ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' ὥσπερ ἡγείται σχεδόν.
τὸ γὰρ παραθεῖναι κἀφελεῖν τεταγμένως
ἕκαστα, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰδεῖν,
πότε δεῖ πυκνότερον ἐπαγαγεῖν, καὶ πότε βάδην,
καὶ πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ πότε
εὐκαιρον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ὀψων τὰ μὲν
θερμὰ παραθεῖναι, τὰ δ' ἐπανέντα, τὰ δέ μέσως,
τὰ δ' ὅλως ἀποψύξαντα—ταῦτα πάντα δὴ
ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖσιν ἐξετάζεται
μαθήμασιν.

And, again, in a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 464; K. II, 361) a *μάγειρος* inquires how he shall serve the food on a certain occasion—cold or warm or steaming hot—and inso-
lently expresses his private opinion of one who would have
all his food served at the same temperature. Athenaeus
(viii, 354d) states that the *μάγειροι* of his day were care-
ful in all such matters also. And so these *μάγειροι* must
needs keep their own senses alert, that they may make no
mistakes along this line, according to a statement in Machon
(M. IV, 496; K. III, 325).

Nor do we want for accounts of the ingenuity displayed by μάγειροι on particular occasions. Thus a story is told of a certain Soterides (in Euphron, M. IV, 494; K. III, 323) who deceived a king with his imitation of anchovies at a time when the king was unable to secure the real article. A μάγειρος also delights to relate (in Archedicus, M. IV, 435; K. III, 276) how he preserved his reputation, when in a difficult position, by using olive oil to make a quick fire and sending in some of his relishes while he prepared the fish, so as not to seem to be behind time. And even when some mistake had been made in his department, the ingenuity of the μάγειρος stood him in good stead. Witness the ingenious device of a μάγειρος as proposed in a fragment of a lost play of Alexis (M. III, 439; K. II, 341) to the one who has made some mistake in cooking. The latter is apparently the first spokesman in the following dialogue (vss. 1-17):

*Ηψέ μοι δοκεῖ

πνικτόν τι ὄψον δελφάκειον. B. ἡδύ γε.

A. ἔπειτα προσκέκαυκε. B. μηδὲν φροντίσης.

ιάσιμον γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἐστί. A. τῷ τρόπῳ;

B. ὅξος λαβὼν ἦν εἰς λεκάνην τίν' ἐγχείας
ψυχρόν, ξυνίης; εἶτα θερμὴν τὴν χύτραν
εἰς τοῦξος ἐνθης· διάπυρος γὰρ οὖς' ἔτι
ἔλξει δι' αὐτῆς νοτίδα, καὶ ζυμουμένη
ὥσπερ κίσηρις λήψεται διεξόδους
σομφάς, δι' ὧν τὴν ὑγρασίαν ἐκδέξεται·
τὰ κρεάδι' ἔσται τ' οὐκ ἀπεξηραμμένα,
ἔγχυλα δ' ἀτρεμὲι καὶ δροσώδη τὴν σχέσιν.

A. Ἄπολλον, ὡς ἱατρικῶς. ὦ Γλανκία,
ταυτὶ ποιήσω. B. Καὶ παρατίθει γ' αὐτά, παῖ,
ὅταν παρατιθῆς, μανθάνεις; ἐψυγμένα.
ἀτμός γὰρ οὕτως οὐχὶ προσπηδήσεται
ταῖς ῥυσίν, ἀλλ' ἄνω μάλ' εἰσι καταφυγών.

Another μάγειρος in Dionysius (M. III, 547; K. II, 423) tells how he remedies a mistake with ease and adroitness.

This facility of adapting himself to every occasion that may arise, a *μάγειρος* in Alexis (M. III, 451; K. II, 351) claims, distinguishes him from the *ὀψοποιός*, who does not possess the same skill. Let us note verses 6–14 of this fragment:

Τὸν ὀψοποιὸν σκενᾶσαι χρηστῶς μόνον
δεῖ τοῦτον, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. ἂν μὲν οὖν τύχη
ὁ ταῦτα μέλλων ἐσθίειν τε καὶ κρινεῖν
εἰς καιρὸν ἐλθὼν, ὠφέλησε τὴν τέχνην·
ἂν δ' ὑστερίζῃ τῆς τεταγμένης ἀκμῆς,
ὥστ' ἢ προοπτήσαντα χλιαίνει πάλιν,
ἢ μὴ προοπτήσαντα συντελεῖν ταχύ,
ἀπεστέρησε τῆς τέχνης τὴν ἡδονήν.
εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς τὸν μάγειρον ἐγγράφω.

Despite all their learning, however, we sometimes read (cf. Anaxippus in Ath. ix, 403e) of innovators who caused physical suffering to those unfortunate enough to test their concoctions. Yet, like the great Seuthes in Posidippus (M. IV, 523; K. III, 344), they were more often able to general their forces in battle array against the hosts of the attacking party. Euphron (M. IV, 487; K. III, 317) even depicts the case of an adept in the art of securing booty who alone had discovered a way *τοῦ*—*μὴ χανεῖν λύκον διὰ κενῆς*.¹ But prudence must be exercised by the *μάγειροι* in practicing such tricks, we are told by a *μάγειρος* in another fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 492; K. III, 322).² If they are sure of receiving their stipulated wages, they must not exceed the bounds of their professional discretion in all such matters.

When *μάγειροι* did transgress the limits of their own province, there was trouble as the result. A noteworthy example is found in Menander (M. IV, 222; K. III, 148), where a *μάγειρος* has caused general consternation and confusion by undertaking what rightfully belonged to the province of the

¹ The name of this *μάγειρος* is Lycus. Cf. vss. 1 and 21.

² See note on this passage, p. 51, n. 3.

τραπεζοποιός and the δημιουργός. His officiousness receives its just rebuke. Athenaeus (ix, 383b) also speaks of the curiosity of the class of μάγειροι, and in a passage which appears to have had its origin in Comedy (Themist., Or. 21, 262c) the slanderous propensities of their profession are well depicted.

And so we must conclude, I think, that the poets of the Middle and the New Comedy have given us a true picture of the personal characteristics of the μάγειροι of those times, however much of what is mainly or purely comic they may have combined in the characterization. Not to refer again to their prevailing trait of undue boastfulness, they were characterized, therefore, by a proper pride in their art and all that pertained to it, and used independent methods in its advancement. With them ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη was of prime importance at all times and in all circumstances.

This pride of the μάγειροι in their art is especially exemplified in the preparation of particular dishes. In very many passages in Athenaeus the recipes for particular kinds of food are given, but it has seemed not a useless task to note here how the μάγειροι of ancient Greek times were experts in preparing certain dishes for the table on which they chiefly prided themselves. An excellent example of this is found in a fragment of Philemon (M. IV, 26; K. II, 500), where a μάγειρος expresses his delight at the skill he has shown in cooking a fish:

Ὡς ἱμερός μουπήλθε γῇ τε κούρανῳ
 λέξαι μολόντι τοῦψον ὥς ἐσκεύασα.
 νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἡδύ γ' ἔστ' εὐημερεῖν
 ἐν ἅπασιν· ἰχθύς ἀπαλὸς οἷος γέγονέ μοι,
 οἷον παρατίθεικ', οὐ πεφαρμακευμένον
 τυροῖσιν, οὐδ' ἄνωθεν ἐξηρθισμένον,
 ἀλλ' οἷος ἦν ζῶν, κώπτὸς ὦν τοιοῦτος ἦν·
 οὕτως ἀπαλὸν ἔδωκα καὶ πρᾶγον τὸ πῦρ

ὀπτῶν τὸν ἰχθύν, οὐδὲ πιστευθήσομαι.
 ὅμοιον ἐγένετ', ὅρnis ὁπότεν ἀρπάσῃ
 τοῦ καταπιεῖν μείζον τι· περιτρέχει κύκλῳ
 τηροῦσα τοῦτο, καταπιεῖν δ' ἐσπούδακεν,
 ἔτεροι διώκουσιν δὲ ταύτην. ταῦτόν ῃν.
 τὴν ἡδονὴν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν καταμαθὼν
 τῆς λοπάδος, ἀνεπήδησε ἀφ'εὐγεν κύκλῳ
 τὴν λοπάδ' ἔχων, ἄλλοι δ' ἐδίωκον κατὰ πόδας.
 ἐξῆν ὁλολύζειν· οἱ μὲν ἥρπασάν τι γάρ,
 οἱ δ' οὐδέν, οἱ δὲ πάντα. καί τοι παρέλαβον
 ἰχθύς ποταμίους ἐσθίοντας βόρβορον·
 εἰ δ' ἔλαβον ἀρτίως σκάρων, ἥ 'κ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
 γλαυκίσκον, ὦ Ζεῦ σῶτερ, ἥ 'ξ Ἀργούς κάπρον,
 ἥ 'κ τῆς Σικυῶνος τῆς φίλης ὃν τοῖς θεοῖς
 φέροι Ποσειδῶν γόγγρον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,
 ἅπαντες οἱ φαγόντες ἐγένοντ' ἂν θεοί.
 ἀθανασίαν εὗρηκα· τοὺς ἤδη νέκρους,
 ὅταν ὀσφρανθῶσι, ποιῶ ζῆν πάλιν.

This well illustrates the naïve joy which one of these professional *μάγειροι* might experience over his success in cooking a favorite dainty of the Athenians.

Indeed, fish were such a favorite food with many of the Greeks that there is ample evidence of the skill displayed by *μάγειροι* in their preparation for the table. Antiphanes (M. III, 130; K. II, 109) gives a list of fish which are apparently intended for the knife of the *μάγειρος*. In a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 429; K. II, 335) a *μάγειρος* relates his purchases at the fish-market in comic fashion, and boasts that he prepares the sauces and dressings for such as these in so elegant style (vss. 21 ff.) ὥστε τοὺς | δειπνοῦντας εἰς τὰ λοπάδι' ἐμβάλλειν ποιῶ | ἐνίοτε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς. We read of the method of preparing dried herring in another fragment of the same author (M. III, 470; K. II, 366). In still a third fragment of Alexis (M. III, 442; K. II, 344) the saurus is a specialty of a certain *μάγειρος*. The pleasure which

a Greek audience would take in the description of the preparation of certain kinds of fish may be readily inferred from a fragment of Sotades (M. III, 585; K. II, 447). Here a *μάγειρος* narrates at length his methods of dressing and cooking the various fishes he has bought in the market. In fact, the entire art of the *μάγειρος* in this specialty is clearly displayed in this fragment. In the first place, a careful selection of the fish must be made. Then the cleaning of the finny creatures and the fire used in cooking them were of importance. Nor could the different parts of the fishes be treated in the same way. The manner of cooking them was also to be considered, as well as the spices and condiments used in dressing them for the table. When finally they were served, daintily arranged among herbs of different species and with the varieties of sauces employed for various fishes, they might be truly called dishes fit for kingly mouths.¹

Let us now turn to a consideration of a few of the other dishes much in favor among the Greeks. Squids have been mentioned in some of the fragments of Comedy already quoted. The preparation of the squid is described in Alexis (M. III, 416; K. II, 323). We find a longer passage on the same topic from the same author (M. III, 471; K. II, 367):

Σηπίας τόσας
δραχμῆς μῶς τρίς· τῶν δὲ τὰς μὲν πλεκτάνας
καὶ πτερύγια συντεμὼν ἐφθὰς ποιῶ,
τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα κατατεμὼν πολλοὺς κύβους
σμήσας τε λεπτοῖς ἁλσί, δειπνούντων ἅμα
ἐπὶ τὸ τάγηνον σῖζον ἐπισείων φέρω.

Boeotian eels were especially a delicacy with the Greeks, and in Antiphanes (M. III, 125; K. II, 105) we have a description of the cooking of an eel (vss. 1-7):

¹A large number of passages from Archestratus and other writers relating to the cooking of fish might be quoted from Athenaeus (cf. vii, 310b, 278a, 303e, 306a, 321c, 325f), as well as other passages from Greek Comedy (cf. Anaxilas, M. III, 346, K. II, 269; Timocles, M. III, 591, K. II, 451) on the same subject.

Ἦ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος
 τῆς ἔνδον οὔσης ἑγγέλως Βοιωτία
 τμηθεῖσα κοίλοις ἐν βυθοῖσι κακκάβης
 χλιαίνεται, αἶρεθ', ἔψεται, παφλάζεται,
 προσκάεθ'. ὥστε μηδ' ἂν εἰ χαλκοῦς ἔχων
 μυκτῆρας εἰσέλθοι τις, ἐξελθεῖν πάλιν
 εἰκῇ· τοσαύτην ἐξακοντίζει πνοήν.

Fragments of Eubulus (M. III, 222, 223; K. II, 176, 177) also contain references to the eel, while the conger eel is mentioned by Alexis (M. III, 466; K. II, 363).

The μάγειρος at the banquet depicted by Athenaeus describes (ix, 381a-c) in detail with much pride the manner in which he has prepared the roast pig which he now serves up to them.

The feast described by Mnesimachus (M. III, 568; K. II, 437) is perhaps a fair example of the extravagant luxuries of the table among the Greeks of later times. The varieties of meats here mentioned would doubtless require a number of professional μάγειροι for their preparation.

Candaulus is a dish of which a μάγειρος boasts his knowledge in a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 462; K. II, 360; vss. 1-6):

Ἔτι δέ σοι παρὰ τοῦτο κάνδauλόν τινα
 παραθήσομεν. B. κάνδauλον; οὐκ ἐδήδοκα
 <κάνδauλον> οὐδ' ἀκήκο' οὐδεπώποτε.
 A. θαυμαστὸν ἐμὸν εὔρημα· πάνυ πολὺν δ' ἐγὼ
 εἰς παραθῶ σοι, προσκατέδει τοὺς δακτύλους
 στυγῶ γε χαίρων.

A μάγειρος in Philemon (M. IV, 18; K. II, 493) claims that he alone can make the candaulus, while in Nicostratus (M. III, 284; K. II, 224) we read of a μάγειρος who could not make black broth, but understood the art of making θρίον καὶ κάνδauλον. He was evidently not a Spartan cook, since, as we have seen (Plut. Vit. Lyc. 46 E; Inst. Lac. 236 F),

the Spartans were noted for their black broth. The dish called *θρίον*, on the other hand, was peculiarly Athenian, we learned from Dionysius (M. III, 547; K. II, 423).

Royal pea-soup and caper-plant were the specialties of a *μάγειρος* in Demetrius (M. IV, 539; K. III 357), while the cooking of lentils had been taught a *μάγειρος* by a native, as represented in a passage from Antiphanes (M. III, 95; K. II, 82).

Nicostratus (M. III, 281; K. II, 221) represents a *μάγειρος* famous for a dish called *ματτύη*.

Other dishes described by *μάγειροι* at the banquet of the Deipnosophists are the *ρόδονντία* (Ath. ix, 403d), *ρόδωνιά* (Ath. ix, 406a), *μύμα* (xiv, 662d).

Some idea of the seasonings used may be got from a fragment of Alexis (M. III, 437; K. II, 343), while Diphilus (M. IV, 383; K. II, 546) represents a *μάγειρος* who is conversant with the best of them.

But even without further proof, such as has just been adduced, we might justly infer from a single fragment of Euphron (M. IV, 486; K. III, 317), already quoted, that each *μάγειρος* of any note among the Greeks had his own special dish in which he took particular pride and interest. Here (vss. 5-12) the accomplishments of the seven sages are enumerated, each of them having gained distinction by a different means in the practice of his art. In Athenaeus (xii, 521c) we even read of the discoveries of *μάγειροι* being protected by law against use by others than the inventors.

This brief review of some of the dishes on which individual Greek *μάγειροι* especially prided themselves may serve to furnish some idea of the extent to which *ἡ μαγειρική τέχνη* was carried among the people of this nation. Every true *μάγειρος* took pleasure, not only in learning what had been taught by those of his profession in the past, but also in making some fresh contribution to the art. The menu card

(*γραμματεῖδιον*, *Ath.* ii, 49*d*) of these ancient times must have contained repeatedly items of courses that would whet the curiosity as well as the appetites of the Greeks.

We are not now surprised, therefore, at the claim of a *μάγειρος* in *Philemon Junior* (*M.* IV, 68; *K.* II, 540), who contends for skill in the cooking of meats and concludes with these words (*vss.* 6–9):

Μάγειρός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐὰν ζωμήρυσιν
ἔχων τις ἔλθῃ καὶ μάχαιραν πρὸς τινα,
οὐδ' ἂν τις εἰς τὰς λοπάδας ἰχθὺς ἐμβαλῇ,
ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τις φρόνησις ἐν τῷ πράγματι.

And the same thought as is expressed in *Dionysius* (*M.* III, 547; *K.* II, 423; *vss.* 33 ff.) recurs many times in the comic fragments:

Αὐτὴ δ' ἐαυτῆς ἐστὶ δεσπότης. ἐὰν δ'
εὖ μὲν σὺ χρήσῃ τῇ τέχνῃ, τὸν τῆς τέχνης
καιρὸν δ' ἀπολέσῃς, παραπόλῳλεν ἡ τέχνη.

But we must recognize the existence of a distinct art of the *μάγειρος*, particularly when we observe the many references to it in writers other than the comic poets. Plato and Aristotle evidently admit the existence of the art, as such, in their day, as may be seen from various passages.¹ It is noteworthy that Plato generally mentions this art in connection with the profession of the physician.² In *Gorgias*, 500*B*, we find this statement: *Καὶ ἐτίθην τῶν μὲν περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς τὴν μαγειρικὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ τέχνην, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην.* With this we may compare *Gorgias*, 491*A*, where the *μάγειροι* are spoken of along with the *σκυτοτόμοι* as of not much influence in the state. When we remember, however, that in Plato's time this art was already beginning to play so important a rôle in the life of the

¹ Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 332*C*; *Euthyd.* 301*D*; *De lege* (*Minos*), 316*E*–317*A*; *Aristot.*, *Polit.* I 11, 1282^a, 14 ff.; *De anima*, 9, 485^a, 32.

² Cf. Plato, *Polit.* 289*A*; *De virtute*, 376*A* and *D*; *Gorg.* 500*B*.

Greeks, we need not be surprised that a philosopher like Plato should not hold the art in any too great esteem.

Hippocrates also recognizes this art (*Peri Diaites* i, 18) and Theophrastus (*Char.* xx, 8 and 9) is acquainted with *μάγειρος εὖ τὸ ὄψον σκευάζων*. In later writers, as one would expect, there are frequent references to the art of the *μάγειρος*, as we have already observed, for it came to be a decided factor in the Greek life after Alexandrian times. And so the words of Dio Chrysostom (lxxi, 378 R.) are not unexpected: 'Ἀλλὰ φησι καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔμπειρος εἶναι, μαγειρικῆς δὲ καὶ οἰνοχοίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης διακονίας, ἃ φησι τοὺς χείρονας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διακονεῖσθαι.' The evil effects of the practice of this art are enumerated by Hermogenes (*Proleg. rhet.*, IV, 22, 10, Waltz). In Plutarch's time, as frequent references have shown, the art was still recognized. Compare *De fortuna*, 99 C: Καὶ περὶ ἄρτυσιν ὄψων ἦν μαγειρικὴν ὀνομάζομεν.

It is quite unnecessary to refer to Athenaeus again, throughout whose book, as we now know, there are practically innumerable allusions to the art.

And so we must conclude that for several centuries ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη not only held its own among the Greeks, but grew to such proportions as I have attempted to describe, particularly after the oriental influences began to assert themselves in the fifth century before our era.

¹ Cf. Lucian, *De parasito*, 843, 844.

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